

# MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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APRIL, 1927

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

*The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-20, bound \$60.00; unbound, \$28.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, The State Historical Society of Missouri.*

*"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."*

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## SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 21, 1927

The addresses and remarks made at the annual dinner of The State Historical Society of Missouri, given in Columbia on January 21, 1927, were brief and to the point. They contain suggestions of value to all interested in the history of the state. Also, they present slants on the new trends taken by local annals.

Hon. E. W. Stephens, president of the Boone County Historical Society, introduced Dr. F. F. Stephens, of the history department of the University of Missouri, who served as toastmaster of the evening. Owing to illness, Hon. George A. Mahan, president of The State Historical Society, was unable to be present.

The speakers to whom subjects had been assigned were Dr. Eugene Fair, president of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers' College, of Kirksville; Hon. Hugh Stephens, member of the Missouri State Highway Commission, of Jefferson City; and Mr. J. P. Jeffries, editor of the *Hannibal Courier-Post and Hannibal Journal*, of Hannibal. Informal remarks were made by Judge David H. Harris, of Fulton; Stephen B. Hunter, of Cape Girardeau; and Roy D. Williams, of Boonville.

### A NEW DEPARTURE IN TEACHING MISSOURI HISTORY

BY EUGENE FAIR

In speaking on the subject, "A New Departure in Teaching Missouri History," I must go back a little, as all historians do, and confine myself to the institution where I now work. The first course in Missouri history offered in my institution, the Northeast Missouri State Teachers' College at Kirksville, was given by Professor E. M. Violette, now at the University of Louisiana. I was there as a student. Mr. Violette was one of the most systematic teachers I have ever known. He

was also a man who, with his system of teaching Missouri history, stimulated many people to like Missouri history. He had state patriotism in good measure and he stimulated a great many people in that State Teachers' College, as I know was being done in other State Teachers' Colleges, to like Missouri history.

Professor Violette was followed by Miss Lucy Simmons, who possessed out of Macon county the same kind of loyal feeling toward the state and the institutions it represents. She now conducts the Missouri history courses regularly.

The new departure at the Kirksville State Teachers' College was introduced in the person of the loved secretary of the State Historical Society, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker. I knew that he had led a colorful reading life for many years. I knew he had had ideas on Missouri history for many years. He really suggested the idea to me, not that he should come to the institution where I am presiding at the present time, but that I put that idea into force at that institution and part of the state where we were located. Mr. Shoemaker came to our institution last summer to introduce some very brilliant lectures on Missouri—lectures that spoke of men and conditions today. In his lectures last year, he was not afraid to speak of what Baker or Hyde or Gardner was doing as well as of what Boggs or Hardin or Stone had done; he was fearless in introducing into that Missouri history class the relation between economic and political life in this state. He was not afraid to say that a man living in the Ozarks might be influenced by that life in his politics. He was willing to give credit to the progressive Missouri we have today.

After his lectures the really new departure came. That was this: Under his skillful hands historical expeditions were organized to take this whole class in automobiles and visit places where history was made. I can't mention them all, but I want to say that that class will never forget the community treatment, the people that entertained them at such places as Canton, Boonville, Jefferson City, Fayette, Hannibal, Macon, Monroe City, Shelbyville, Palmyra, and Fulton. This was the big thing about the new departure. Private citizens,



commercial organizations, and institutions vied with each other to give aid and extend hospitality to the expeditions. Such men as these were some of the instructors and inspirations of the students: ex-Congressman James T. Lloyd, Dr. J. H. Woods, T. R. Smith, B. F. Glahn, Rev. C. J. Armstrong, Ovid Bell, Judge David H. Harris, Edgar Nelson, Roy D. Williams, Professor T. Berry Smith, Judge N. M. Sheldon, Ben Franklin, Mrs. May Scovern Hunt, D. R. Hughes, Judge V. L. Drain, T. J. Rice, Hon. R. S. McClintic, Wirt Mitchell, Professor E. P. Puckett, Perry S. Rader, Dr. A. J. Hildreth, and Hugh Stephens. It was a surprise to see a man get up and relate the history of that community so that those students learned many intimate details about the settlement and experiences of that community.

In the brief time left I must mention one name and that is Hon. George A. Mahan. He combined in the Hannibal meeting not only the graciousness that furnished the banquet to that whole group at the Mark Twain Hotel but the inspiration of a wonderful address at the Mark Twain Monument, delivered by a fine minister, that set those faces glowing, because they couldn't help but see Mark Twain in his boyhood days looking across the streets of Hannibal, and they will never forget the small house in which lived the greatest humorist of all time. They realized in the new departure that it was their business to go back to their communities and make those communities take a certain pride in themselves and their history. They realized that not only should every community take a self-respecting attitude toward the present, but to feel a pride in its past. It is the business of youth to know and to hope that the future of this state and its local communities will be even better than it has been in the past.

#### FINDING NEW VALUES IN OLD FIELDS

BY HUGH STEPHENS

While your secretary spends much of his time in the atmosphere of the past, he understands the language of the present because he has warned me that I should speak on "New values in old fields," not "New values in oil fields."

This is the age of motion. According to someone every great advance in history has been preceded by some advance in methods of communication. There never was a time when men, commodities, and intelligence traveled from place to place so rapidly as now. Everything has its momentum. Not many have time to search for values in old fields. The automobile has three speeds forward and one reverse. The interest in present things, as compared with those which have gone before, perhaps exceeds the ratio of three to one.

It is not an easy matter to get people interested in state history. I have been asked to treat this subject from the standpoint of the business man. A play was recently written which deals with an English business man who, on the 31st day of December, 1926, was handed a file of the London Times for 1927. Turning hurriedly to the last day of the year he read the market quotations of his holdings and noted from day to day facts which pointed to his soon becoming the richest man in England. He finally turned to the obituary list of January 1, 1927. At the head of the column he read the notice of his own death. He died of the shock. There may be more value in retrospect than in the ability to read the future.

History should possess for all both a fascination and diversion. It stimulates the imagination, inspires us to high ideals as the characters of great men and women pass back and forth in review. Time will not permit me to deal with facts and figures, nor dates and incidents, even if I were competent to do so. A golf player once said to his caddy: "What is the matter with my game? Do I stand too close to the ball when I drive?" "No, sir," said the caddy, "You stand too close to the ball after you drive." I hope what I may say in this discussion will lead us at least some distance from the starting point.

I want to pay my respects to those who have done so much to arouse interest in the history of Missouri. Mostly we are indebted to the State Historical Society. Many of us must apologize for having contributed so little to its success. I recall when your secretary first began to ask for appropriations from the state Legislature. Then he had not much

more than an idea to back his appeal for funds. Now we have a going institution which deserves support for what it has done and is doing.

To me there appear to be two mediums upon which an interest in history must depend. One is an authentic literature which you have supplied. The other is the preservation of historic shrines to which the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other similar organizations, have made important contributions. It is sometimes difficult to determine which gets the message of history across in the better way, whether, for illustration, Mt. Vernon and Valley Forge or the volumes in which are written the events with which those places are associated.

In some respects a midwestern state does not offer the same inducement for the study of history as that offered by older states which are richer in historical lore. Tested by the standard of antiquity our section cannot offer so much of value but you have demonstrated that Missouri is far from lacking in sources of interest which well reward those ready to give to the subject the time and thought which it deserves.

In a new country where the population is bent on up-building we are in danger of ignoring or discarding much which in time we may count among our most valuable assets. People spend hundreds of millions each year traveling to Europe. The people of old countries have capitalized new values in old fields. In time we may come to understand that history has a commercial as well as a sentimental importance.

Missouri is spending over \$200,000,000 for highways. We herald the fact with pride and yet when the roads are built what will be the objective to attract the world to come and travel these highways? No industrial enterprise, no agricultural and perhaps no educational achievements, certainly no natural wonders, will have the pulling power which shrines of historic interest will possess to attract people to Missouri. After all it takes people or the things people have done to interest people.

The work of the D. A. R. in the restoration of the Old Tavern at Arrow Rock is a step in the direction of this dis-

cussion. I had the honor of taking some minor part in the restoration of that old building with all its tender memories, the greater credit belonging to Mrs. W. W. Graves and Mrs. W. R. Painter and their associates. I would like for all the people of Missouri to know what these good women have done. The raising of over \$15,000 in cash besides securing \$11,000 in appropriations from the state Legislature represents the expenditure of energy and intelligence as well as money. Today the story of the Old Tavern has gone throughout the country and reflects credit upon the people of this state. It has become in a way a rallying point for those interested in historic places and I hope that what has been done there will be copied elsewhere.

It is said that "Where there is no vision the people perish." Vision must look backward as well as forward and enable us to call up the characters of the fine pioneers who made possible the Missouri of today. No better type of men and women ever peopled a state. Human society is like a great tree, spreading out with an impressive show of branches through many activities but dependent after all upon those traditions deep-rooted in the soil for permanence and stability.

I want to mention the work done by the Commission which has decorated our state capitol building with statuary in marble and bronze, and mural paintings depicting places and events in Missouri history. Thousands of visitors are attracted yearly to Jefferson City by this great panorama of Missouri history. We are proud to be able to say that twice as much money has been expended on the decoration of our state house as on any other in the Union, and most of the decoration is historical. It would be hard to measure the influence which it will have upon the mind of the rising generations helping them to find values in the field of state history.

The wealth of a country is not limited to its mines, its bank balances, or its growing commerce. We want the world to know that we are distinguished for more than cattle and grain, coal and zinc, about which so much has been said and written. I hope that we will have funds for the preservation of historic sites and for the compilation of historic litera-

ture, comparable to the funds which we have provided for the purchase of state parks and exploitation of our natural resources.

Missouri has abundance of treasure to unearth. I hope that more and more business men and others will interest themselves in the cultivation of this great and resourceful field.

#### A CITY OF MONUMENTS, MEMORIALS AND NOTED MEN

BY J. B. JEFFRIES

I come to you as a representative, on this program, from the seventh city in population in this state, and from the fourth in manufacturing. I come to you from a city that has been largely built by the men who have lived in it, and who now live in it.

Hannibal is not fortunate like Columbia and Jefferson City, where great institutions have been built by the state, because no institutions have been built in Hannibal by any one, save the people of Hannibal, with one exception, that is the Federal building, which was built during the administration in congress of that splendid Missourian, that splendid Hannibalian, Col. William H. Hatch.

Now, I hope you will pardon me if I tell you a few of the things that Hannibal has that some other towns have not, and if I tell you that they are in Hannibal because of the love Hannibal people have had and now have for their home city.

In the first place, I will speak to you of a few monuments that are erected there. The first, of course, that I will bring to your attention is that of Mark Twain. This monument is built in a beautiful park overlooking the Mississippi river. It is a monument of which every citizen feels proud, a monument erected by Missouri to commemorate the life of a man who not only made Hannibal and Missouri noted throughout the confines of the world, but who was the greatest humorist, philosopher and historian that this country has ever produced. It was Mark Twain who wrote true to life; it is Mark Twain's works that are being read around the globe. "Tom Sawyer

and Huckleberry Finn" have been translated into more languages than any other books save the Bible. A wonderful man was Mark Twain! He was born at Florida, Mo., but came to Hannibal with his parents when only three years old. He grew to manhood in Hannibal. He caught the inspiration for many of the books which he wrote from the islands of the Mississippi river, from the hills, dales and caves around the city. He made these things resound around the world. In Hannibal, we love, we honor, we respect, we revere the name of Samuel L. Clemens.

Now, I want to speak to you about another monument, unique, because it is the only monument of its kind that has ever been erected in this country. It is the monument erected to Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, the literary characters of that splendid writer, Mark Twain. This monument was conceived in the mind of no less a distinguished person than the president of the Missouri State Historical Society, your friend and my friend, George A. Mahan. He and his wife and son, Dulany, had this monument erected at their own expense in order that future generations might look upon the statue of Tom and Huck and take courage to go out and do the grander and nobler things in life. The story of this monument was printed in thousands of newspapers and periodicals throughout the world, not only in the United States, but in England, in Germany, in France, in Prussia, in Austria, in Belgium, in Canada, in China, in Japan, in Mexico; in fact, in almost every enlightened country in the world. This is what has been done by a Hannibal man, because he loved Mark Twain, because he revered his memory and because he wanted to do something for generations yet unborn.

In the beautiful and picturesque city park in Hannibal is found a monument erected to Colonel William H. Hatch, a Hannibal man, who served the first district in congress with great honor and distinction for many years. A man who was the farmers' real friend, who was the father of the bill which established the portfolio of agriculture in the president's cabinet, and whose farm near Hannibal, in which he took so much delight, was presented to the state by his



daughter, the late Miss Sallie Hatch, and has been accepted by the state to be used as an experiment station.

Hannibal has one of the most beautiful and picturesque natural parks to be found anywhere within the confines of this country. This park, which is called Riverview Park, overlooks the Mississippi river, and from it most beautiful scenery up and down the Father of Waters is visible for 30 or 40 miles. With its woody dells, with its picturesque splendor, in the summer-time, with its beautiful flowers, with its budding plants, with its variegated foliage, with its shrubs and trees budding and blooming, with its woody drives, its open spaces, it is virtually a paradise on earth. This excellent natural park of 200 or more acres was given to the city of Hannibal by a man who has done much for the city, W. B. Pettibone.

Hannibal has a hospital, a good one, and the nurses' home connected with it, which was given to the city by Aaron R. Levering, a man reared in Hannibal, who loved Hannibal and its people and was desirous of doing something that would be of benefit to posterity, so he gave the hospital complete.

Then we have a fine public library building in Hannibal, a commodious building, which houses a large number of volumes of the best books obtainable. That building was erected by Mrs. John H. Garth and her daughter, Mrs. Annie Garth Goodlett, in commemoration of one of Hannibal's distinguished citizens, the late John H. Garth.

That is not all. When Hannibal awakened to the necessity of a Y. M. C. A., when the value of such an institution began to be talked of by the citizens of Hannibal, another philanthropic citizen, a man who for many years was identified with Hannibal, George W. Dulany, offered to give three-sevenths of the cost of erecting the building, and it is needless to say that the citizens of Hannibal took advantage of the offer and erected a Y. M. C. A. building that would be a credit and an honor to any city.

Hannibal has a public school that was erected at a cost of \$225,000 donated to Hannibal in commemoration of the

life of Mrs. Laura Jones Pettibone by her husband, W. B. Pettibone, the philanthropist who gave beautiful Riverview Park, and who has given liberally for the advancement of Hannibal's welfare.

Nor is that all. Hannibal has a Catholic high school building, a large and commodious building, just completed and equipped, which was erected by Misses Anna and Mary E. McCooey, in memory of their brother, James H. McCooey, a life-long citizen of Hannibal.

There has just been completed in Hannibal a Memorial school, a large school, which houses the Sunday school of First Christian church, given to Hannibal by the son and daughters of the late Thomas G. and Mary A. Dulany—given by Mrs. Edith Dulany Schofield, Mrs. Vivian Dulany Murphy, and William H. Dulany. Their parents were among the founders of that church in Hannibal.

Mark Twain's boyhood home was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. George A. Mahan and given to Hannibal, that it might be preserved in its original condition, so that the people of the country might have an opportunity of viewing the home around which clung so many fond memories of the great writer.

The wharf on the Mississippi river at Hannibal, the beautiful city park, covering a block in the business district of the city, and the ground on which is erected one of the fire departments and police headquarters, were given to the city many years ago by Jacob Glascock.

The grounds on which stands one of the best city hall buildings to be found anywhere in the Mississippi valley were given to the city by Mrs. Meyers, with the proviso that it should be used for no other purpose than for a city hall building.

Ever mindful of the welfare of those about them, always willing and anxious to do the thing that softens the hard places in life, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Mahan purchased a beautiful tract of ground on one of the gently sloping hills of Hannibal, and erected a magnificent home, in which may be cared for old people and children.

Hannibal has produced many noted men, philanthropists, men of letters, lawyers of distinction. It might be well to mention that Hannibal is the birthplace of Admiral Robert E. Coontz, the man who was appointed by President Wilson to have charge of the movements of the U. S. Navy during the world war. Admiral Coontz still holds his membership in the Park Methodist Episcopal church, South, in Hannibal, and has always claimed Hannibal as his home.

You can readily see why I am proud to be a citizen of such a thriving city as Hannibal and why the future of Hannibal is guaranteed, for no city can have a greater guarantee than the fidelity and the love of its citizenship.

I will mention briefly a few of the things that Hannibal has done recently. Hannibal has spent \$500,000 on its streets in the last two years; \$600,000 on its schools; \$400,000 on the enlargement of its water plant which is municipally owned. Hannibal has a Chamber of Commerce composed of 600 busy business, professional and mechanical men. This Chamber of Commerce is the clearing house for all activities in Hannibal, whether along business, educational or moral lines. With such a citizenship, is it any wonder that Hannibal is forging ahead, and is recognized today as one of the very best cities in this country for its size? It will continue to forge ahead, because more of the same kind of citizens are being reared in Hannibal.

I must not weary you, but I want to say this. I want to express to you personally the regrets of the Hon. George A. Mahan, the worthy president of the State Historical Society, who is confined to his room on account of the influenza, and who said he never hated to give up a trip as he did this one to Columbia.

"Life is not as we take it  
This mystical life of ours;  
Life is what we make it,  
A harvest of thorns or of flowers."

## INFORMAL REMARKS

BY DAVID H. HARRIS

I assure you of my great pleasure in being permitted to be here this evening. I did not, of course, come with any expectation of being asked to say anything, but I have been greatly interested in and most pleasantly entertained by the addresses that have been made.

Before taking my seat, however, I trust I may be pardoned for saying that I have no sympathy whatever with that class of historical or biographical writing, now much in vogue, which attempts to exploit everything of an unsavory or discreditable nature that can be gathered or imagined,—principally the latter,—touching the personal and private life of the individual in question. Such publications are not in the interest of historical accuracy, but, most generally and in the main, are ghoulish travesties upon the truth, written for money and to satisfy a morbid public taste for things sensational or salacious.

I heartily sympathize with the suggestions made by the various speakers touching the marking of spots in our state where history has been made, and of "thereby getting new values out of things that are old". But in our search for places and localities to mark and preserve, we should not overlook those men and women whose lives made the places worthy of preservation and of historical notice. The men and women who came to the territory of Missouri in the early years of the nineteenth century were, in large part, cast in heroic mold. The homely, sturdy virtues of honesty, industry, courage, hospitality and neighborliness then common are now becoming more or less uncommon. Many of these pioneers were men and women of strong mentality and with personalities that had not been rounded and smoothed and made commonplace by the conventionalities and contacts of modern life.

The quality, however, that most strongly marked the lives and characters of these pioneers was their love of country and their willingness to render unselfish and self-sacrificing

public service. And, don't you know, it seems to me that this is a virtue that is waning in this country of ours. At the last presidential election less than fifty per cent of the people qualified under the law to vote had enough patriotism to go to the polls and vote. Men of wealth and social standing in the community, who ought to be interested in all public affairs, are, in many instances, wholly unconcerned as to the government and are not willing to bear their part of its burdens. In fact, the appalling increase of crime throughout the country during the last two or three decades is due in large part, in my opinion, to the callous indifference of the people generally.

Hence, the suggestion that I leave with you is that as we visit the many places of historical interest throughout our county and state that we do not forget the men and women who made the county and state what they are. Let us search them out. Let us record the valor of their lives and let us place this record before the growing youth of the state as an example of and an incentive to good citizenship and of unselfish public service. Our state and our several county historical societies can perform a most useful service to the present generation and to our state in this behalf. Our state society, through its efficient secretary, is gathering much valuable material of the character indicated, but much more can and should be gathered from every county in the state, and the problem is now, and will be in the future, to bring this record of the lives of the men and women who have made Missouri what it is before the youth of our state, in the most attractive and helpful way.

#### INFORMAL REMARKS

BY STEPHEN B. HUNTER

I am sure that in Boone county, from what I have learned, you have been taking an unusual interest in historical matters. Being the seat of the university, that is but natural. You would be the first to realize the need of preserving and gathering records to leave to those who come after us, to give them an idea of what Missouri has done.

We have recently in our county formed a historical society, and we have a gentleman who is known to a number of you, Senator R. B. Oliver, as our president. He is taking an unusual interest in these matters. I might say to you that that part of the state from which I come has much of historical interest to everybody in the state, for we are the oldest part of Missouri, and we are the newest, side by side. But many of our things have not been properly recorded, and many things of value to us are in the possession of people who have not perhaps fully realized their historical significance. For instance, since we have formed our local historical society, Mr. Oliver secured a document and had a picture made of it which he will give to Mr. Shoemaker. It is a judgment of Don Louis Lorimier and is the first west of the Mississippi river promulgated in the English language.

It would be but natural, as the interest in the historical society grows, that other counties will become interested, and it is for those of us here tonight to gather the records and the information in many places from men now getting on in years, or these things will soon be lost to us. I spoke to a man in Wayne county whose people came to what is now Carter county in 1812. His mother and his father's folks came into that country as children. This man is possessed of much information, but he has not recorded these things, and they may be lost to us. He has a knowledge of the people of the old times and of the things they did and the amusements and pleasures they indulged in. He has a history of the people of that time. He told me that when people first moved into some of the counties, at the time his people came into this county, they were not looking for lands to farm—they came to this country seeking a place they might fish and hunt, so they located in what is now Carter county. One of his relatives once came to his home and announced that he was going to move farther west. When asked if he was dissatisfied with the country in which he was now located, he answered: "I have been out hunting all day and have killed only one deer. Game is too scarce."



I am pleased to be here, have enjoyed the remarks of the evening, and it is a pleasure to be present at this dinner tonight.

#### INFORMAL REMARKS

BY ROY D. WILLIAMS

I most gratefully acknowledge the hospitality of the State Historical Society which made this meeting possible. It seems to me that there can be nothing more important in any state than its historical society. We should be congratulated in Missouri upon the most excellent secretary we have. He has stimulated interest throughout the length and breadth of the land.

I have read, and I believe, that a history well taught will make a nation great. When the history of the state and locality is fairly and honestly, from no partisan standpoint, taught those who are growing up, it cannot but do the state great good.

We have now a wonderful road running thru Missouri, and it has occurred to me that if the members of the State Historical Society would preserve the points of interest along that road, especially to those coming from the west who have no great history back of them, these points would be of exceeding interest. For example, it has been lately called to my attention that six miles west of Boonville there is a tract of land known as the "Chouteau-Lamine Grant." In 1792 the Osage Indians gave to Chouteau a letter in which they said to him: "Go out on the River Lamine and take as much land as you choose. You have been good to us and our wives and children, so go out and take all the land you please, and if any other nation bothers you, show them this letter, and the Osage Indians for all time will defend you." Pierre Chouteau went out and took thirty thousand arpens of land. He settled there, and the grant was confirmed by the Spanish governor in 1796 and in 1812 it was confirmed by the Congress of the United States. It was afterwards bought from Pierre Chouteau by the first lieutenant-governor of this state, Ashley. Part of the concrete road enters that

tract and meanders thru the tract about seven miles, and it seems to me that the Historical Society or Cooper county might mark the beginning and end of that tract, with some reference to its former ownership.

That tract was bought in 1834 by William H. Ashley, first lieutenant-governor of this state. Ashley settled very close to the Missouri river. When age was upon him he walked out on this tract and selected the highest point where there was an Indian mound and said to the people there: "When I die, bury me in the top of this Indian mound, that I may see the boats land at Boonville and Arrow Rock." His grave is there now in an open pasture, unmarked. It seems to me that some historical society would do well to father a movement to mark the grave of a man as great as Ashley.

In Arrow Rock they have told me that the house shown on Bingham's "County Election", stands a block west of the Tavern. Is this true? (Mr. Rollins: Yes, that's the truth.) It seems to me that the State Historical Society should erect some marker or preserve that place.

I am sure that this has been a most pleasant and profitable meeting to me.

## "MISSOURIANS," DAVID R. FRANCIS' BEST SPEECH\*

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

"Missourians" was the theme when David R. Francis delivered his greatest speech. Commerical life had given the material vision. As mayor of the chief city of Missouri Mr. Francis had performed his part in municipal activities. The governorship had taken him into every county and face to face with every element in the population. Cabinet service with President Cleveland, presidency of the World's Fair, wide travel in this and other countries had given him the comparative viewpoints. And so at the mature age of fifty-five David R. Francis spoke what—among the hundreds of addresses delivered by him upon a great variety of occasions—what will live as his most memorable words. The occasion was toward the end of November, 1905, the eleventh annual banquet of the Commerical Club of Kansas City, at which Secretary William H. Taft, later to be President and Chief Justice, was also a guest.

"Missouri may be richly endowed by nature, blessed with wonderful resources, a fertile soil and a salubrious climate, but the character of the commonwealth is formed by its citizens. Explored by the French and alternately under the dominion of France and Spain, the career of Missouri did not really begin until it became a part of the American Union. From that time it has been the stage of conflict and the stage of compromise. Its admission as a state was the cause of a protracted and bitter struggle in the Congress of the United States between the slavery and the anti-slavery factions of our national legislature, and the resulting compromise was the bond that for forty years held together the North and the South. When the conflict

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\*From the MSS. of *David R. Francis, His Recollections and Letters*, by Walter B. Stevens. Mr. Francis died on January 15, 1927.

could no longer be deferred, this was the theater of action. Occupied and devastated by both armies, claimed by a state government of each side, it furnished men and means to both contestants, and no risk or sacrifice was considered too great by the champions of either cause. When the struggle ended no section outside of the reconstructed area was so desolate or had suffered so much. The border warfare of four years or more and its attendant outrages had kindled a spirit and inculcated habits not easily suppressed or eradicated, and consequently the state was handicapped for several years after peace had been restored, by a reputation which was no less damaging because it was not deserved.

"The rapid development of Missouri during the past twenty-five years is too fresh in memory of you all to require definite narration or more than passing reference. It is not a new Missouri in the sense that new elements have entered into its composition, but it is the evolution, the working out of the principles and convictions which are instinctive in the race descended from hardy pioneers who for a century or more have advanced the outposts of civilization from the Atlantic seaboard toward the West. Those who remained in Missouri, while instinctively courageous, tenacious of their rights and imbued with a spirit of conquest, had deeply embedded in their hearts and consciences a sense of fair play.

"Within the past ninety days I have been on the western and eastern and southern borders of our country; in Washington and Oregon and intervening states, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in the Indian Territory and in the empire state of Texas. Our Scotch-Irish ancestors who, after crossing the Appalachian range and settling in Kentucky and Tennessee moved westward on the same lines of latitude to Missouri, were not content to remain here, but, forging to the West and South, were the pioneer settlers of Oregon and Washington and Texas. Lewis and Clark, who, it is claimed, gave us by discovery the Northwest Territory, started from Missouri, and pursuing their course on the bosom of the mighty river that flows by your doors,

went westward until they placed the American flag on the Pacific coast.

"Stephen Austin and his associates went from Missouri to Texas and were potential agents in gaining the independence of that republic.

"It seems now that the spirit of adventure and of exploration is not to be limited by the borders of our own country, but has pressed forward until it has reached the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, and has overflowed into the republic of Mexico. In each of these countries you will find enterprises of magnitude and daring, planned and consummated by Missourians. Many of those who left Missouri in Civil War days to enlist on either side of the fratricidal struggle have never returned, but have not failed to make their impress upon whatever community in which they have cast their lot. It is still a tradition of Montana that Price's army journeyed to that state and settled there instead of surrendering at the close of the war. Immigration has come into our borders in large volumes during the past four decades, but it has assimilated itself rather than changed the character of our people. Thoroughly democratic, in the broader sense of the term, they have, nevertheless, cherished a deep-rooted respect for institutions and principles tested by time and tried by experience. This has not been a congenial home for new theories of society or of government. Fads which have met encouragement in other and in neighborhoring sections have gained no foothold in Missouri. That caution and conservatism which should govern in remedying the evils of state, as they guide us in approaching the wounds of an aged parent, have been a potential influence in the thoughts and habits and the legislation of Missouri. The hardships, the vicissitudes and the struggles, through which the state has come in the eighty-five years of its existence, have but served to strengthen these characteristics of her people. As a young man, starting out in the battle of life, should first learn his capabilities, and acquire knowledge of his surroundings and of the times in which he lives, before venturing into responsible under-

takings, so Missouri, conscious of her own possibilities, has acquired a thorough knowledge of her advantages and taken each forward step only when prepared to advance. Her people have never felt so secure in their position, nor so confident of the outlook as now. The occurrences and developments of the last few years have been a revelation to Missouri's most sanguine sons. State pride has taken deep root—and that is the most beneficial, as well as the noblest sentiment a community or a people can cherish. It is the incentive, not only to redoubled effort, but makes to appear ever and ennobling any sacrifice a citizen or a community may be called upon to endure.

"One of the strongest influences in the remarkable growth and progress of Kansas City is the civic pride of its people; the harmony and the concert of action with which they work for their city.

"No people have a higher standard of official conduct than do those of Missouri, and when that standard is reached and maintained, it inspires respect and support. When, however, a position of honor and of public responsibility is used to promote personal gain, he, who thus abuses the confidence of the people, loses their esteem and they do not hesitate to withdraw their support. They believe in as little government as is consistent with the protection of the individual and the welfare of society. Legislation tending to restrict or handicap the energies and the enterprise of individual citizens has never met with favor. It has been their policy, under proper limitations, to give all requisite powers to corporations, but they have never forgotten, nor permitted those corporations to forget, that they are creatures of the state, and as such are subject to supervision and regulation.

"It seems that the older a community or a commonwealth becomes, the more paternal its legislature and the trend of its thought. The problems of government, if not more numerous, are becoming more difficult from year to year. That sense of individual reliance, of reverence for law, of respect for those in authority, when they deserve respect, and that correct standard of commercial and social relations,



which characterize the people of a well organized community or commonwealth, are what must be preserved, if we would perpetuate our institutions as their founders planned them.

"The people of Missouri, while swayed by prejudice from time to time, are generally just in their sober second thought. They believe in and attempt to practice square dealing, not only in their relations with each other, but with their public servants, who are forgiven mistakes if made in sincerity and whose rashness is overlooked, if prompted by genuine courage and proper motive. At the same time they believe in progress, and were never so thoroughly imbued with a desire to see Missouri advance as they are today. They like to see a community, a leader of men, or a public servant do something for the promotion of the welfare of those whose trust he holds or whose confidence he enjoys.

"The caution and conservatism in legislation, to which I have alluded, have grown hand in hand, with the same qualities in commerce, in agriculture, in mining and in the development of all the state's resources. Comparatively little foreign capital has been used in the upbuilding of this state. If Missouri, as was the case, built more miles of railroad in 1904 than did any other state in the Union, it was able to do so out of its own means. Nay—more, Missouri capital is daily used in large amounts in enterprises in other sections of the west and south, and even in other countries. What the people of this city, or of St. Louis, or of Missouri, or of any section of the state would be most benefited by is a realization of their own position and power and a determination to take advantage thereof. If it is necessary for us to build transcontinental lines to the Atlantic or the Pacific, or the Gulf, in order to obtain the rate advantages we merit, we have the means and only require the organization to accomplish the end.

"The rapid increase of the political power of the Southwest, with unity of action, should place us in a position, if it has not already done so, to secure that recognition for the improvement of our great waterways, to which our produc-

tive capacity and our contribution to the wealth of the country entitle us.

"Above natural advantages, however, and higher than all agencies that contribute to the increase of wealth, is that patriotic sentiment which endears us to the place we call home. Here, where we have grown to manhood, where our children have been born, where our dead are buried, is a country whose growth and development we have not only looked upon with pride, but toward whose progress each one feels he has contributed at least his mite. It is what we have made it. We may differ among ourselves as to the political complexion of our municipalities, of our country and state governments, but we represent a united front to traducers within our limits, if there are any, and any criticisms from those beyond our borders arouse our indignation and excite us to redoubled effort in behalf of the state of our nativity or adoption. Dear old Missouri! Grand old Missouri!"

## THE HAWTHORN, MISSOURI'S OFFICIAL STATE FLOWER

BY MRS. WALLER WASHINGTON GRAVES

Forty-four states selected their official floral emblems before Missouri, with her wonderful wealth of native flowers, chose her state flower. But no state has selected a more beautiful, appropriate and symbolic one than was designated by the Fifty-second General Assembly in 1923. It was perhaps worth waiting a few years over a century to have at least for our floral emblem the white blossom of the Hawthorn, a flower unrivalled in beauty and honored in history, legend and song.

The hawthorn tree grows in many states but the leading experts in the botany of trees report that Missouri has the finest specimens and the greatest number of natural varieties and hybrids of any state in the Union, or any other part of the world. Thus the hawthorn, or red haw as it is more generally called, is a very celebrated and distinguished Missouri flower.

Dean Mumford of the department of agriculture, University of Missouri, pays it this tribute: "The hawthorn is one of our most beautiful and useful trees, indigenous to all parts and symbolic of the beauty and wealth of our great commonwealth. It is also reminiscent of our pioneer days which should not be forgotten."

An editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* used this encomium: "The simple truth is that the hawthorn is the noblest of flowers. History, romance, art, literature, mythology, legend—it wears the accolade of them all. It is cosmic and symbolic and deserves the honor of being Missouri's State Flower."

The bill to designate the hawthorn as our State Flower was sponsored by the Missouri Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. In 1919, during the state regency of Mrs. John Trigg Moss, our state historian Mrs. W. L.

Webb of Independence started the movement to have the organization decide upon some appropriate flower and look after the necessary legislation to have such adopted by our State Legislature. At the annual State D. A. R. Conference in that year the daisy was first endorsed as the choice of the delegates, but upon the following day, after discussing the fact that the daisy is not a native Missouri flower, and that it had already been chosen as North Carolina's official floral emblem, the endorsement was withdrawn. Representing the Jane Randolph Jefferson Chapter of Jefferson City, it was my honor to propose the beautiful white blossom of the hawthorn. My motion was seconded by Mrs. George Edward George of Kansas City who paid a glowing tribute to its merits, and the motion was carried. At the State Conference in 1920 another effort was made to substitute the daisy, but the hawthorn blossom was again confirmed as the choice of the Missouri D. A. R. Bills for both the daisy and hawthorn were introduced in the 51st General Assembly. The hawthorn bill passed the Senate, and received a majority in the House, but lacked four votes of having a constitutional majority. The friends of the hawthorn were not discouraged and plans were at once made to present a similar bill at the next legislature. Mrs. Paul Duane Kitt, the newly-elected State D. A. R. regent, appointed a State Flower Committee, naming me as chairman and other active members were Mesdames W. W. Botts of Mexico, J. W. Lyman and B. L. Hart of Kansas City; W. L. Webb of Independence, J. H. Reppy of Hillsboro, Walter Brownlee of Brookfield, and A. E. Reton of St. Louis, who worked untiringly with the chairman in securing endorsements of other organizations, clubs and societies, and of prominent patriotic citizens of the state. Among the splendid endorsements secured by this committee and by other D. A. R. members over the state were those of the Missouri State Teachers' Association, the Missouri Sons of the Revolution, a majority of the Missouri Federated Women's Clubs, Dean F. B. Mumford, Department of Agriculture, University of Missouri, and B. R. Coleman, president of the Missouri State Horticultural

Society. Many prominent men and women all over the state endorsed the hawthorn.

A bill designating the white hawthorn blossom, commonly known as the red haw, and scientifically termed *Crataegus* (a Greek word meaning strength) was introduced in the lower house of the Fifty-second General Assembly by Miss Sarah Lucile Turner, representative from Kansas City, and Judge W. W. Botts of Audrain county, and passed that body without a dissenting vote. A similar bill was introduced in the upper house by Senator J. D. Hostetter of Pike county and Senator Richard Ralph of St. Louis county, and when the senate bill came up for final passage the house bill was substituted and passed with *only one* dissenting vote. At the final passage of the bill in each body, the gentlemen gallantly withdrew their names allowing Miss Turner, the first woman elected to the Missouri legislature, the sole honor of its introduction. Governor Arthur M. Hyde signed the bill March 16, 1923, and the hawthorn blossom became Missouri's official floral emblem.

Those advocating the hawthorn, or red haw blossom, did not claim it the most beautiful, or the only native flower appropriate to represent our great commonwealth. Missouri has a wealth of beautiful native flowers. Many that are best known and loved had already been chosen by other states, as the wild rose, the violet, the dogwood, wild plum, golden-rod and sunflower, etc. Others, like the wild crab, the spice bush or Benjamin shrub, the winter-berry or deciduous holly, and the red bud or Judas tree, are very beautiful indeed, but are not found in such abundance and in all parts of the state as the hawthorn and are not as useful in nature's scheme.

The hawthorn is a genus of the rosaceae family and is nearly related to the rose and apple. Some horticulturalists proclaim it the ancestor of the apple. It blossoms in late April or May according to the season. It grows in all parts of the state and is very hardy and well adapted for park planting and landscape gardening; its blossoms are white and borne in clusters, thus being symbolic of pure

ideals, unity and strength; its dense foliage is very beautiful and its bright red haws furnish a large per cent of the food for our winter birds and wild game. One old time legislator stated that were it not for the red haw fruit, the partridge, wild turkey, deer and o'possum could hardly subsist in our state during the winter months. On the ground under the hawthorn trees where leaves partly cover them, one can even this late in the spring (April) find well preserved luscious red fruit upon which our robins are voraciously feeding. More birds nest in the dense foliage of its protecting branches than in any other native tree, and this is an asset the farmer should not overlook. In the spring when you hear any of the great trio of American bird vocalists—the mocking bird, brown thrasher and cat-bird—look in some near-by hawthorn tree for the nests.

The pioneer settler of Missouri used the exceedingly fine grained and hard wood of the hawthorn in the making of shuttles for the weaver's loom, which almost every family then possessed and used in the weaving of "home-spun" for their garments and linens for their households.

The only objection pronounced against the hawthorn blossom as our state flower is that it only blooms once in its season, and that a flower that blooms continuously and could be grown in greenhouses and available at all seasons for use at celebrations would be more popular. Some states have so chosen, as New York and South Carolina, the rose; Ohio, the red carnation; and Indiana the pink carnation and a few other states, flowers, though wild, that may also be grown in the greenhouse and procurable for a longer period than the natural blooming season. But our D. A. R. organization, and the members of the legislature who were in full accord with us, thought our state flower should be a wild flower native to the state, one which was an outstanding and symbolic flower. Thus it should be a flower that fruits to typify our wealth and accomplishments and a flower that blooms only once in its season; and to be symbolic it should be borne in clusters representing unity in endeavor and strength in union. A few club women and favored city

residents might enjoy greenhouse products, but how many children and citizens could have the opportunity to enjoy such, as they may the hawthorn blossom along our highways, in the woods and fields and in parks and public grounds all over the state? And the hawthorn is such a distinctive Missouri flower since our state is its favorite habitat and has more varieties than any other state. It is meet that we have as our state flower one not only renowned, but one also beautiful and characteristic of our soil. Arizona and New Mexico have chosen the cactus, Nevada the sage brush and Maine the pine cone and tassel, not flowers especially appropriate for a *boutonniere*, but very distinctive and characteristic flowers of those states. And many other states, a majority in fact, have chosen those that are particularly distinctive to the soil of their respective states. An emblem or device loses its significance and is worthless unless symbolic and typifies some characteristic virtue or quality.

The hawthorn tree is native to parts of Europe and Asia. The tree—its blossoms, foliage and fruit—has been employed as an art motif for considerably over two thousand years, and poets have sung its praises throughout the ages.

In England it is most popular, and, owing to its hardness, close branches and dense foliage, has been used for hedges and enclosures of fields since the Roman occupation.

James I, of Scotland, mentions "hawthorn hedges knet" of Windsor Castle. The first hedges in Scotland are said to have been planted by the soldiers of Cromwell.

History states that after the battle of Bosworth, August 21, 1485, in which Richard III, of England, was defeated, his crown was found lodged in a hawthorn bush by Sir Reginald Bray and was placed on the head of Richard's rival, who soon attained a more formal coronation as Henry VII of England, the first of the Tudor kings. The hawthorn blossom thus became the device of the Tudor dynasty.

The hawthorn is nowhere loved and revered as in Ireland, as its dense protecting foliage is supposed to be the



chief habitat of the good fairy Leprechaun, which the Irish legend describes as:

"The Weeaby man in an old green coat,  
With the voice of a blackbird in his throat,"

a glimpse of whom is so sought after by the rustics and swains as bringing good luck. This very general belief may have inspired Goldsmith in his immortal poem, "The Deserted Village", to pen these lines:

"The hawthorn bush with seats beneath its shade,  
For talking age and whispering lovers made."

In ancient Greece the hawthorn was regarded as the emblem of hope and its branches are stated to have been carried in wedding processions and to have been used by them to deck the altar of Hymen.

A legend also describes the staff of Joseph of Arimathae to have been a branch of the strong hawthorn.

These are only a very few of the many references to the hawthorn in history. Many poets have written of this beautiful and symbolic flower and Missourians should be proud that our state is the most favorable habitat of this renowned flowering tree.

A bulletin issued by the Missouri Botanical Garden (Shaw's) says that about sixty species are native in the Old World and that more than eight hundred have been described for North America. The distinction between many of the varieties are so minute that only professional botanists can distinguish these. These differ in leaf, flower and fruit, but all bear a close resemblance. To facilitate their systemic arrangement, these numerous species have been divided into fourteen groups, eleven of which are represented in Missouri, and Mr. George T. Moore, director of the Missouri Botanical Garden, says that it is safe to say that 125 recognized species are growing naturally in our state. The Missouri species also have only white blossoms, but a few species in other places are pink and crimson, as *Crataegus ocacantha*, and *Crataegus monogyna*.

It is hoped that the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri will join with the Missouri Society Daugh-

ters of the American Revolution and the Missouri Federated Women's Clubs in their pledges to encourage the planting of the hawthorn and other beautiful flowering native trees and shrubs in every school yard in Missouri and in every county seat, court house lawn and in all parks and public grounds, for, alas! the axe-man is getting in his work of devastation and our beautiful native flowering trees are being sacrificed to his ignorance and greed. Our D. A. R. chapter in Jefferson City induced the Capitol Commission to plant more than fifty fine specimens of hawthorn in the capitol grounds, and our chapter is sending this spring a number to be planted on the lawn of the "Old Tavern" at Arrow Rock. Other D. A. R. chapters and women's clubs over the state are also planting the state flower in various public places in their respective counties. In Kansas City the Liberty Memorial Commission is planting fine specimens around their magnificent War Memorial. Indeed, the hawthorn is found in profusion and in all its native splendor in the parks and around Kansas City. In the beautiful Riverside Park at Hannibal there are beautiful specimens and Hannibal claims the honor of having a species there not found in any other part of the globe. Shaw's Garden, St. Louis, has hedges and hedges of them, about two hundred species, including native and also species from other parts of the world.

Many club women write asking for information concerning their planting and propagation. They are easily transplanted, but it must be done late in the fall or very early in the spring before the buds put forth and they should be liberally pruned at the time of transplanting. The woods are full of young plants. Because there has not been a general demand for these plants the nurseries have not kept any great quantity on hand but would, were the demands greater. They may likewise be propagated by seed if one has the patience to wait. They germinate very slowly, requiring one or two years for the seedling to appear. I have a number of seedlings three feet high that are beginning to make strong sturdy plants that are four years old. *Crataegus mollis* and

*Crataegus coccineae* are the best edible varieties, the haws having a most delectable flavor. The pioneers made jelly from these varieties. *Crataegus cordata* of the microcarpae group is very ornamental and popular for park planting because the bright red fruit hangs on later than other varieties. *Crataegus crus-galli*, *Crataegus patrum* and *Crataegus tenuis* are splendid varieties growing around the Capital City and central counties of the State. Most of the hundred and twenty-five native varieties growing in different parts of the state are beautiful and could be secured from woodland tracts in each county. Good varieties for parks and landscape work, *C. cordata*, *C. pruinosa*, *C. fecunda*, *C. virides* and other species can be secured in nurseries for planting, no doubt.

In riding on the Missouri Pacific River Route between Jefferson City and Boonville some years ago we were greatly impressed by the profusion and beauty of the hawthorn, dogwood and wild plum blossoms then in bloom. A very distinguished, gray haired gentleman across the aisle noticed my delight, came over and introduced himself, joining with me in viewing spring's beauteous blossoms along the way. He said: "Madam, I was born and educated in the East and when a young man I came up this river by boat expecting to leave it at Kansas City and go on further west to practice my profession. It was at this season of the year and I was overwhelmed with the beauty of the landscape and the profusion of the hawthorn, dogwood and other wild blossoms along the way. By the time I had reached Boonville, I had made up my mind that a land that had such a wealth of beautiful flowering native trees and shrubs must be God's country, so I stopped there and have lived there ever since." He was a very interesting and cultured man and had represented his district in Congress and had never regretted stopping in old Missouri.

And won't you, my readers, follow the season's lure, drive along the highways throughout the state, view the hills and dales and woodlands, sweet with budding haws and other bloom, and rejoice, too, that you have tarried in God's country—the Hawthorn State.

## ISAAC A. HEDGES' VISION OF A SORGHUM-SUGAR INDUSTRY IN MISSOURI

BY WILLIAM M. LEDBETTER

That Missouri, and other Northern states, once had visions of a great sugar-manufacturing industry, based upon the common sorghum cane, is recalled by a little volume, "Sugar Canes and Their Products", by the late Isaac A. Hedges, a man of considerable note in St. Louis and throughout the Mississippi Valley immediately following the Civil War and up to his death in 1882.

The book in question, published in 1879, was the sequel to another volume, "Sorgo, the Northern Sugar Plant" by the same author, published in 1863. The earlier volume seems to be entirely out of print. The volume before me is dedicated to "Hon. John Walker, of Fayette, Howard County, Missouri, president of the Mississippi Valley Cane Grower's Association." Mr. Walker was an extensive farmer, and served as a member of the state legislature, railroad and warehouse commissioner by appointment of Gov. Hardin, and later as state auditor from 1881 to 1889.

The book contains a very interesting introduction on sugar and its manufacture by George C. W. Belcher, of the Belcher Refinery of St. Louis, one of the large sugar manufacturing industries of the day, which, however, used the southern sugar cane, and not sorghum cane, as Mr. Hedges planned in his experiments. Mr. Belcher's only reference to the latter enterprise is contained in the following paragraph:

"If domestic cultivation of sugar-yielding plants is destined to supply a fair portion of our wants, no city is better located to secure a leading position than St. Louis. Even her neighbors and rivals in other branches of trade will concede that this conclusion is well founded."

Contemporary comment shows that Mr. Hedges was a very eager and persistent advocate of the improvement of sorghum cane, with a view to its use in the manufacture

of sugar. He collected seed of the best varieties grown in this country and Europe and placed them in the hands of intelligent and progressive farmers in all parts of the Mississippi valley, for the purpose of testing them out and improving the strain. He spent many years in the study of sugar-making machinery and adapting it to the use of sorghum cane. By his intimate friends among the wholesale grocers and sugar brokers of that day he was affectionately referred to as "Old Sorghum".

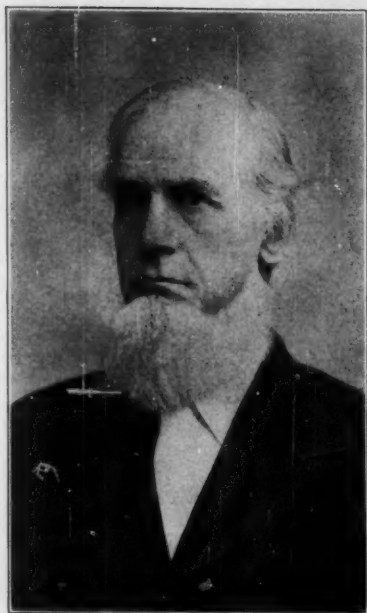
In the preface to his second book, Mr. Hedges says:

"In preparing this work for the press, it has been my one single purpose to write a plain, practical treatise upon the subject to which it relates; to produce a book adapted to the wants of persons engaged in cultivating and working the Northern Cane. I am neither by inclination nor education a book maker. All the qualifications I possess in that line, and all that I have employed in preparing this little volume, are such as have been forced upon me, by a long and rugged intimacy with the business of which it treats. If I have not furnished a scholarly production, it is, perhaps, because my degrees were taken in the furrow, the mechanic shop, and sugar-house, and not in the university.

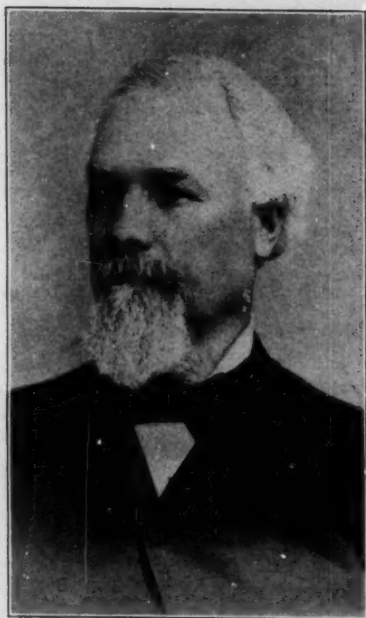
"Having been, for forty-five years, connected with the manufacture of agricultural implements, and being extensively engaged in that business at the time public attention was first called to the Northern Sugar-cane, I became acquainted with the new plant as soon as it was announced. Believing, with a few others, that it was exactly what was needed, as an addition to the domestic productions of the West, and that it would, at least, afford our farmers a bountiful supply of good family syrup, I immediately espoused the enterprise, with all the zeal and all the means I could command. My anticipations are at last being realized. The present outlook is more flattering than when my former book appeared (1863). As I then predicted a superior cane has resulted from our method of culture and I see no reason why it may not still improve, to accomplish which will be one of my principal objects. For this purpose I have arranged with intelligent farmers in nearly all of the states west of the Alleghany Mountains who will cultivate and take careful note of all material facts connected with it in the field, and assist our association in such scientific investigations as shall enable us to learn the true characteristics and real merits of these canes as well as the stalks of common Corn or Maize.

"This when added to the efforts of many others, in the same direction will insure a satisfactory solution of this sugar problem.

"At the close of the war and the resumption of business in the sugar districts of the South, there seemed to prevail an opinion that it would not pay to continue the culture and manufacture of syrup from these Northern canes, hence there was a large falling off in the production.



COL. ISAAC A. HEDGES



JUDGE JOHN WALKER





"The great depression in prices that followed the approach to a specie basis of circulation, and the rapid settlement of the interior and back country has caused the farmer to strive to produce his own sweets, and in these canes with the improvement in their qualities was found the means of accomplishing the object. This has greatly increased the culture during the past few years. Those at present engaged in the business are largely new beginners, hence the inquiry for information on the subject has been great.

"Frequent applications for my little volume of 1863 (which the publishers have allowed to go out of print) have induced me to furnish the Agricultural Press of our city several chapters during the past year upon the various phases of the production and manufacture of these canes being convinced that a convention of those engaged in it would result in collecting and disseminating facts. I joined with others in effecting that object, the results of which have been highly satisfactory. But, instead of affording all the desired information it has increased the inquiry, for since its adjournment the constant flow of letters of inquiry have given proof of this fact.

"To be enabled to meet this demand in a satisfactory manner I have edited this volume, using some of the papers of the convention and much of my former writings, adding such new deductions as later research have afforded.

"I am indebted to Mr. Belcher for a valuable paper on 'Sugars' as well as some scientific tests of samples that will be found in their proper places.

"For illustrations of machinery, I am indebted to the Blymeyer Manufacturing Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio, who have loaned me the use of their electrotypes.

"My advanced years do not justify me in engaging again in an extensive business of manufacturing, hence I shall devote myself in future to the business in a professional way, as a consulting and superintending machinist, make plans and contracts and furnish supplies of the various apparatus needed at manufacturer's prices.

"I shall also give attention to the perfection of the cane by a careful selection of seeds and varieties and handle only those of known excellence."

The book is devoted to a very intelligent and painstaking discussion of the various sorghum varieties, selection of seed, the best soil and methods of cultivating the plant, cutting and harvesting, arrangement of sugar-works, mills and machinery, evaporating and finally the complete chemistry of sugar making. A considerable part of the book is taken up with reports from farmers who have planted the improved sorghum seed furnished by Mr. Hedges, and the use of the by-product, such as the seed for poultry and stock

feed, and the bagasse or refuse for fuel. The superiority of sorghum molasses over all other syrups, to which many of the present generation will subscribe, is also attested.

In 1861, Mr. Hedges says, he sent 20 gallons of fine sorghum syrup to President Abraham Lincoln, who immediately wrote a letter of appreciation, saying he had used the syrup on his cakes that morning, and requested Mr. Hedges to furnish a report of his experiments with the cane for the government reports of that year.

Following Mr. Hedges' death, on December 19, 1882, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* had a long account of the funeral from which the following extract is taken:

"To Mr. Hedges, perhaps, more than to any other man are due the success and encouragement of a great industry, the sorghum product and manufacture in the Mississippi Valley.

"About thirty-five or forty years ago a man named Wray brought from the Republic Liberia, Africa, some sorghum seeds, and Mr. Hedges became among the first to cultivate and develop the product from the seed thus obtained. Mr. Hedges continued his experiments in seeding, culture and harvesting of the sorghum plant. He invented machinery for making the sugar and for other transformation connected with the corn crop. He wrote up and talked up the matter, interrogated and corresponded with the departments at Washington, and for many years he was recognized as authority, and an oracle in everything pertaining to this great industry. He received and answered more letters than most persons in an unofficial position, cheerfully giving all the information in his power. He pursued the subject with the zeal and enthusiasm of a philanthropist, of one who gave his time for the benefit of his fellow man, and in this sense he was a public benefactor. He made trips to Washington, attended meetings in the Eastern cities, and such information as he gleaned he freely imparted to his fellow citizens.

"He visited the cane growers in Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas and in the Southern states where he gained and imparted information and conferred and compared notes with all who desired to avail themselves of his varied knowledge of the subject. He was one of the founders of the Mississippi Valley Cane Growers' Association which has done a great deal in arousing the attention of the country to the importance of cane sugar culture, and for three years he was the valued president of the association. At the recent meeting of the association he counted on being present to take part in its deliberations, and even had made arrangements to participate in the excursion of the members to New Orleans, but his illness supervened and death came, and his life work ended before the return of the excursion from the South. The association, before adjourning,

passed resolutions complimentary of their former president, regretting his absence from the meeting, and they also adopted a resolution requesting Congress to purchase his work on the cane-growing interest for general distribution.

"Among those attending the funeral yesterday were members of the Missouri Historical Society, of which the deceased was a member, and also members of the Cane Growers' Association. Those noticed were Col. Norman J. Colman, president of the last-named association; Hon. Albert Todd; Col. Charles Todd; Dr. Isaiah Forbes; Capt. James Spore; Theodore Sessinghaus; Dr. Heacock; Col. Peter E. Bland; Wm. Nyrath; Mr. Knight; Mr. Colby; T. B. Thayer; Judge Francis Minor; A. Miltenberger; Col. D. H. Armstrong; J. H. Barber; Henry S. Parker; J. A. Field; S. C. McCormick; George W. Tewnell; E. R. Foster and others."

To Col. Isaac A. Hedges, his son, a life-long resident of St. Louis, we are indebted for the following facts:

Isaac A. Hedges was born on a farm near Cooperstown, N. Y., May 6, 1811. He came to St. Louis, as a young man, about 1836. He worked for Samuel Gaty at first, but later became U. S. inspector of steamboats, and in 1845 was appointed U. S. surveyor of the port (Customs Inspector) and served until August 19, 1846. He was active in social and political affairs, as well as in business, and in 1841 helped organize Mt. Moriah Masonic Lodge. During the cholera epidemic of 1849 he was one of ten leading citizens in whose hands were placed the entire control of the city.

Having a strong bent for mechanics, Mr. Hedges invented, in 1850, the Little Giant Corn Mill, which came into general use throughout the United States. It is said there are many of these machines still in use on the farms of the Middle West, and Col. Hedges admits that he occasionally receives an order or request for extra parts of machines manufactured over fifty years ago. Such orders are, of course, turned over to one of the old-time manufacturers of agricultural machinery, who generally succeed in supplying the want. Incidentally, this pioneer feed-grinding machine, by which the cob, as well as the grain, was made available for stock food, was the fore-runner of the modern prepared food or balanced ration for farm animals.

Mr. Hedges served as president of the Mississippi Valley Cane Growers' Association, and later as secretary of that

body. He introduced a new variety of sugar cane, known as Sorgho, the Northern sugar plant, and gave many years to the development of the sorghum cane industry of the Mississippi Valley.

During the term of President Chester A. Arthur, Mr. Hedges was invited to Washington and offered the position of commissioner of agriculture. He declined, but a few years later, when the office of secretary of agriculture was created as part of the President's Cabinet, his old friend, Norman J. Colman, of St. Louis, occupied this position as the first secretary.

Mr. Hedges was the personal friend and contemporary of Cyrus McCormick and John Deere, pioneers in the invention and manufacture of agricultural machinery suited to the needs of the West. He also knew Abraham Lincoln, Horace Greeley, P. T. Barnum, Senator Thomas H. Benton Gen. A. W. Doniphan and many other distinguished men of that day.

Mr. Hedges was chairman of a committee of St. Louis citizens appointed to officially welcome Gen. Doniphan to the city on his return from his famous expedition into Mexico.

Mr. Hedges was married twice, each time to a St. Louis lady. His first wife died of cholera in 1849. He is survived by two children, Dr. Anna Hedges Talbot, a well known educator of New York City, and founder of the Junior Red Cross, and Col. Isaac A. Hedges, previously referred to. Mr. Hedges was 61 years of age at the time of Col. Hedges' birth.

Mr. Hedges, the subject of this sketch, was a man of large physique, standing six feet three inches in his stocking feet, and possessing great strength and vitality. A story is told, in this connection, that in his younger days he and the late Giles Filley both worked for Samuel Gaty. Filley was famous for his powerful grip, and it was his custom to make everyone with whom he shook hands "knuckle under", as the expression went. When he came to

grips with young Hedges for the first time, however, he met his Waterloo. In later years Col. Isaac A. Hedges met his father's friend, and Mr. Filley, extending his huge hand, said: "That hand knew no master until it met your father's. We had it all up and down Main street."

John Walker, the fellow laborer with Mr. Hedges in trying to raise the sorghum industry to a higher estate, was also a man of large physique, standing six feet, three-one-half inches. Both of these men, in a day when conversation was not a lost art, were raconteurs of unusual brilliancy and it was said to be a rare treat to see them together, swapping stories, relating their personal experiences or discussing the public questions of the day. Mr. Walker died in 1897 at the age of 73. He is survived by four children: H. R. Walker of Columbia, Mo.; G. R. Walker of Wichita Falls, Texas; Mrs. Agnes W. Brotherton of Long Beach, California, and Mrs. William M. Ledbetter of St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Walker was born in Howard county, about seven miles southeast of Fayette, in a house still occupied by his son-in-law, Mr. William Payne and family. He is a son of Federal Walker, a member of the family which was instrumental in having what is now Pemiscot and Dunklin counties, and a part of New Madrid county, forming the projection in the southeast corner of the state, included in Missouri.

According to Louis Houck, and other historians, the southern border of Missouri was to have been a prolongation of the Kentucky-Tennessee line to the west. Hearing of this, members of the Walker family, who owned a large body of land in what is now Pemiscot county, and who desired to be included in the new State, the first to be created west of the Mississippi river, went to Washington, traveling most of the way on horseback, where they succeeded in having the survey changed as it now stands. Federal Walker moved to Howard county after the New Madrid earthquake and took up a section of government land under what was known as a New Madrid claim, this being a measure passed by Congress for the relief of the New Madrid earthquake

sufferers, by which they were allowed an amount of government owned land elsewhere equal to that which they had held in the region affected by the earthquake of 1811-12.

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

The above article by Mr. Ledbetter has aroused interest in the Mississippi Valley Cane Growers' Association, which apparently had a considerable membership in Missouri at the time referred to. Search of the available records, however, has failed to disclose any additional facts concerning this organization. It is possible some reader of *The Missouri Historical Review* may possess such data, particularly the date of the organization of the Association, its officers and when it ceased to exist. If so, we shall be pleased to receive such information.

The following facts concerning Mr. Hedges and his work were compiled by Mr. William Clark Breckenridge, 4123 Enright Avenue, St. Louis.

"Isaac A. Hedges was a resident of St. Louis during the greater part of his life, and for many years was engaged in the manufacture of the Little Giant Mill. But about the year 1857 he removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, and became a member of the firm of Hedges, Free & Co., of that city (as well as a member of the firm of Hedges, Mockbee & Co., of Philadelphia). He did not return to St. Louis until about 1868, when he became a salesman for the firm of Freeman, Barnum & Brother, dealers in agricultural implements and seeds. When Henry S. Olcott published "Sorgho and Imphee," Hedges was behind him financially, and he also furnished some of the matter for the appendix.

"The United States Patent office distributed a small quantity of the sorghum seed as early as the spring of 1854, and prior even to that time the plant had been tested to a limited extent by a few gentlemen in the vicinity of New Orleans. By the year 1857, the United States Patent Office had itself distributed one hundred thousand papers of the seed, so it can easily be seen that the plant was well introduced. From the very beginning of its introduction, Hedges

advocated its cultivation, on down to the day of his death. But it did not take well until the Civil war cut off the northern states' supply of southern molasses and sugars. To show how the use of sorghum increased in Missouri during that war and during the period of inflation thereafter, I quote the following figures: 'The annual production increased in Missouri alone from 776,101 gallons in 1860, to 1,730,171 gallons in 1870.' Practically every county produced its quota. But by 1872, it was made only in the following counties: Bates, Bollinger, Cape Girardeau, Cass (yield 4 barrels to the acre), Cooper (from 100 to 150 gallons of syrup, a fair yield), Dallas, Harrison (produces large quantities), Jefferson, Miller, Moniteau (produces considerable quantities), Schuyler, Shelby, Stoddard and Texas.

"In one of the reports of the Commissioner of Patents, was published the results of a chemical research into the properties of sorghum, made by Augustus A. Hayes, assayer to the State of Massachusetts. This paper is dated April, 1857, and carries the following title: 'On the Saccharine Matter found in the variety of Sorghum cultivated in New England as a source of sugar.' In this report, he gives it as his opinion that 'This plant (Sorghum) cannot, by any known process, be made to yield any other saccharine matter than glucose and there is no method known to chemists by which glucose can be converted into sugar.' In spite of this opinion attempts were made by capitalists to manufacture sorghum sugar on a commercial scale but none of these attempts have proved successful. The greater part of sorghum now manufactured is a farm product—all of the operations being performed on the farm.

"In spite of the unfavorable opinion of Dr. Hayes and of the unsuccessful attempts to manufacture sorghum sugar, Isaac A. Hedges persisted in his missionary work among the sorghum growers to get them to grow improved plants having a content of true sugar. But this work was all in vain; that plant was incapable of producing true sugar; it could produce nothing in the way of saccharine matter but 'long sweetening'."



## BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM IN MISSOURI, 1798-1824<sup>1</sup>

BY LAWRENCE E. MURPHY

When Methodist and Baptist ministers first preached to the settlers along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the territory belonged to Spain. In 1800 France took it and three years later it was purchased by the United States. At that time there were no Protestant houses of worship, and the settlers fearing that their children would grow up without religious influence encouraged the preachers to hold services in the homes. The Spanish governor-general of the Louisiana territory did not look with favor upon Protestantism. But the country needed settlers and compromises were made with Protestants to the extent of "Liberty of Conscience" only. Protestant preaching and public worship were forbidden, but the last lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana being himself a refugee from religious persecutions in France, was a Protestant sympathizer.<sup>2</sup>

Protestant preachers might preach to the English-American settlers provided it was done so quietly that it would not make trouble for the lieutenant-governor with the governor-general. A Baptist settler near St. Louis asked the lieutenant-governor if he might invite his minister friend to hold religious services in his home. The lieutenant-governor in broken English replied: ".....You understand me Mr. Musick, I presume. You must not put—what do you call him—un councer (steeple) on your home and call it a church—you must make no bell ring—you must let no man baptise your infant but the parish priest. But if your friend come

<sup>1</sup>When the General Conference of 1844 provided for a territorial division of the Methodist Episcopal Church the majority of the Methodist churches in Missouri went to the M. E. Church, South. All the Missouri Methodist churches used the name Methodist Episcopal Church, however, until the time of the division.

<sup>2</sup>Theodore Roosevelt: *Winning of the West* (Dak. Edition) volume IV, p. 189; Monette, *Valley of the Mississippi*, Vol. I, p. 641; J. M. Peck, *Father Clark*.

to see you, you say prayer, you read Bible, dat is alright—you be good Catholique."<sup>3</sup>

John Clark, known as "Father" Clark is supposed to have been the first to have preached to the Methodist settlers in the Cold Water settlement about twelve miles north of St. Louis. He had been a pioneer preacher for the Methodists in Illinois. It is not surprising that he should be claimed by both Methodists and Baptists of Missouri since at one time he called himself a member of the Methodist conference, at another an independent Methodist and later he became a Baptist.<sup>4</sup>

The Western conference which included all of the settled territory west of the Alleghenies, sent out Joseph Oglesby to the Missouri territory to find out the possibilities of making a conference appointment west of the Mississippi.<sup>5</sup> His report was evidently favorable, for in the western conference minutes for 1806 appears the appointment of John Travis to the Missouri circuit. His field of labor was supposed to include all of the settled territory in Missouri. Travis reported as the fruits of his first year's work about a hundred members. Conditions on the frontiers required the preachers to travel over a large area to minister to a few people. Often the entire congregation consisted of but two or three families who gathered at one of the homes. Those who had been Methodists in Virginia, Kentucky or some other state formed the nucleus of a new congregation on the frontier. John Travis could not have visited very often some of his Methodist communities even though he preached somewhere every day, as was the custom of the pioneer preacher. At the end of four years of organized Methodism in Missouri, there were about enough members to form an average village church of today if they were all settled in one community. In 1807 there were two circuits in Missouri. In 1810 this number had increased to five.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Peck, p. 230-232.

<sup>4</sup>Peck, pp. 91, 92, 104; *John Scripps in Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. 9, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Oglesby in *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. VI, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup>*Minutes of the Western Conference in the Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1807, 1810.*

The growth of institutions in the Missouri territory was retarded by Indian conflicts. Before Travis appeared, much encouragement had been offered to prospective American settlers by the Spanish government. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had kept the slaveholders of the South from the territory north of the Ohio river. The purchase of the Louisiana territory by the United States attracted a number of settlers to Missouri who would not have lived under any other flag. But the stream of immigration which started with new force in 1804 gradually decreased until the close of the War of 1812. The Indians were encouraged by the British to resist their American neighbors long before actual hostilities began. Added to Indian troubles was the general lawlessness of the frontier caused by the neglect of the United States of the newly-purchased territory.<sup>7</sup>

Thinking the prairies too cold and the soil unfertile, the new English-American immigrants settled as farmers in the wooded areas along the streams.<sup>8</sup> About one-third of Missouri's population in 1804 were Canadian French, who because of their love of village life and fur trading interests settled in hamlets along navigable streams. The settled area at that time comprised a strip of territory about fifty miles wide along the Mississippi river from Pike county on the north to what is now the southern boundary of the State. Outside of this area there were a few French villages on the Missouri river and some lead miners in St. Francois county.<sup>9</sup>

To the Methodist circuit rider in his religious seriousness the French Catholics in the villages with their love for idleness and amusement, appeared irreligious. Often their amusements were of the irreverent and immoral type and their bishops made much complaint in their reports to their superiors.<sup>10</sup> But Catholicism at its best would have given liberties which the Puritan thinking pioneer preacher would have re-

<sup>7</sup>Louis Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 134-140.

<sup>8</sup>Beck, *Gazetteer of Missouri*.

<sup>9</sup>Jonas Viles, *Population and extent of settlement in Missouri in 1804*, an article in the *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. V, p. 190.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas O'Gorman in *American Church History Series*, Vol. IX, pp. 214, 215.

garded as sinful. The Methodist preachers avoided the villages to which they referred as the "Strongholds of the Devil."<sup>11</sup> Slowly the English-speaking settlers filtered into the villages of the French and formed new hamlets on the frontier. But the Methodist preachers never worked the towns until they had established a church in the nearby rural settlements.<sup>12</sup>

Rural Missouri before 1825 was a typical American frontier. The preachers worked faithfully, suffering many hardships to carry the gospel to neglected families. But the non-church going elements, according to some observers, were even more lawless than they were under the Spanish regime.<sup>13</sup> The frontier attracted wild and rough men of bad characters who had fled "to escape the lash of justice" in their native states. The sale of intoxicating liquors which had been under strict control among the Spanish officials now went on without restriction. Gambling and horse stealing were common. Dueling was considered the proper method of settling disputes between "Gentlemen."<sup>14</sup> Such were the moral conditions the Methodist churches in their infancy had to meet.

Beginning with the work of Travis in 1806, for three years Missouri Methodism showed a steady annual increase of about one hundred members. With the year 1809 a new frontier problem arose. For two years there was a small decrease due to the removal of farmers with their slaves to more promising agricultural lands farther west. Some churches in the Merimac circuit lost almost half of their membership. This circuit which included settlements along the Merimac river and its tributaries, had exceeded the other two circuits of Missouri in slave membership. The disappearance of so many negroes from the membership rolls

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<sup>11</sup>John Hogan, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 31, 1853.

<sup>12</sup>Cape Girardeau Missouri, and Vincennes, Illinois were exceptions.

John Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, Jan. 6, 1843.

<sup>13</sup>Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Mississippi Valley* (Ed. 1825) p. 244.

<sup>14</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 66; Rufus Babcock, *Life of J. M. Peck*, pp. 19, 87, 88.

together with a decline of fifty per cent for the whole circuit seems to indicate a shifting population.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Missouri circuit to which Travis was sent in 1806 was bounded only by the border of the settled area he found it impossible to extend his work farther south than Cape Girardeau. Jesse Walker, whose name has become widely known among Methodists for his work in St. Louis, went to this territory around Cape Girardeau in 1809 as an unofficial presiding elder. Beginning with camp meetings, he organized the field into two circuits.<sup>16</sup>

The first five years of organized Methodism in Missouri brought an increase of but seven hundred members to the church. However when the difficulties under which the ministers worked were considered this was a good report.

The war with Great Britain, which lasted from June, 1812, to May, 1814, stirring up the Indians and making frontier life more dangerous, was a serious handicap to the churches, but the decrease among all the Missouri Methodist churches was less than a hundred.<sup>17</sup>

A new era both in the history of the territory of Missouri and the Methodist church began with the close of the war. A stream of immigration poured in from the southern states, particularly from Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, much of which pushed westward settling along the Missouri river.<sup>18</sup> Some stopped in St. Louis swelling its population during the four years following the organization of the Missouri Conference (1816) from two to four thousand.<sup>19</sup> *Niles Register* reported that from thirty to fifty immigrant wagons crossed the Mississippi river daily.<sup>20</sup> An old resident in Virginia at that time wrote that the country had been aroused by the men who had gone to Missouri, returned, and reported the

<sup>15</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church 1809-1810.*

<sup>16</sup>John Scripps in the *Western Christian Advocate*, vol. IX, p. 145.

<sup>17</sup>*Minutes of the Tennessees Conferences in the Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church, 1812-1814.*

<sup>18</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III p. 160. For twenty years after the Louisiana purchase the settlements followed the streams. Bradbury's *Travels*, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup>John W. Monette, *Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 549.

<sup>20</sup>Vol. XX, p. 288. The article is quoted from the *St. Louis Enquirer*.

productivity of the land, and, on every corner were signs advertising sales of those who were preparing to emigrate.<sup>21</sup> The farthest settlements up the Missouri river in 1816 were in what is now Howard county which had been released from Indian possession by Congress the year before.<sup>22</sup>

The new immigration movement stimulated by the treaty with Great Britain and the settlement of Indian troubles made it necessary for the conference to organize three new circuits and send more ministers to reach those whom the church had served in their Virginia homes or on the edge of an older frontier. The lure of cheaper and better land had a tendency to keep some of the settlers moving from place to place as the frontier extended westward. In 1814 John Scripps reported that one-half of his congregation including his "class" leader in the Cold Water settlement had removed to the "Boonslick" country in the region of Howard county.<sup>23</sup> During that period settlements were also being made on a strip of territory along the southern banks of the Missouri river from the mouth of the Merimac to Saline county. This came to be known among Methodists as the Saline circuit. The Spring river valley in southwestern Missouri drew its proportion of immigrants and the conference was not long in providing a Methodist preacher for them.<sup>24</sup>

Since the time of Wesley the Methodist churches have been governed by conferences. The central and largest general unit is the general conference. This is divided into annual conferences, which is in turn composed of district conferences. The smallest unit, a further subdivision, was composed of as many communities or churches in this early period as could be served by one minister. A Methodist preacher's pastorate was known as a circuit and the representative board of his church or churches was known as a quarterly conference. The size of a territory of an annual conference in the pioneer period was determined by the dis-

<sup>21</sup>J. E. Edwards, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 19, 1884.

<sup>22</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 150.

<sup>23</sup>*Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. IX, p. 187 (1843).

<sup>24</sup>D. R. M'Anally, *Methodism in Missouri*, pp. 163, 176. M'Anally has carefully worked out the location of these circuits from old settlers in the territories.

tance the preachers would have to travel on horseback once a year to its sessions. Sometimes the distance factor was disregarded in order to include a large body of ministers and add inspiration to the annual meetings.

Before 1816 when the Missouri annual conference composed of territory in Missouri, Arkansas and Illinois, was organized, the Missouri churches were a part of annual conferences which included territory in from three to five other states east of the Mississippi. There are now three conferences in Missouri for the Southern Methodist Church and two for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

#### PIONEER LEADERS

Four names are prominent in the history of Missouri Methodism before 1825. These are William McKendree, Samuel Parker, Thomas Wright and Jesse Walker.

Bishop Paine referred to William McKendree as the "chief conservor of Methodism in the West."<sup>25</sup> He was a man noted for his ability to cover large fields and while a circuit rider in the states of Virginia and Maryland he traveled an area of from four to nine circuits in one year. His capacity for work and his ability to endure hardships were discovered by Bishop Asbury who brought him to the West in 1800 and made him presiding elder of the Kentucky district, but he was in fact given charge of the whole western field.<sup>26</sup> He was Missouri's first presiding elder, having charge of the Cumberland and Indiana districts from 1805 to the time he was elected bishop in 1808.<sup>27</sup> The year after John Travis organized the Missouri circuit McKendree visited him, and assisted by Jesse Walker held the first camp meetings in Missouri.<sup>28</sup> He was in charge of Missouri as the Bishop of the West until 1824.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Bishop Paine, *The Life of William McKendree*, Vol. I, pp. 145-151.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>27</sup>Minutes of the Conferences for these years.

<sup>28</sup>An account by Rev. James Gwin found in Paine's *Life of McKendree*, Vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>29</sup>John Scripps in *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. IX, p. 25.



McKendree was a popular evangelist as well as an efficient administrator, being an eloquent, logical, dignified and impressive preacher. His experience as an officer in the Revolutionary war no doubt made his personality appeal to the rough men of the frontier. He is known to have used this appeal: "We are Americans and some of us have fought for our liberty and have come here to teach men the way to heaven." As administrator he was especially successful in getting new recruits for the ministry, sending local preachers and exhorters to uncultivated regions. Many local preachers were induced by him to give up their occupations and give their entire time to the ministry. Had it not been for his encouragement Jesse Walker would probably never have been the pioneer preacher of the West.<sup>30</sup>

When McKendree was elected bishop he was succeeded by Samuel Parker as presiding elder of the Indiana district (1808). For two years his field of labor included all of the settlements in Indiana, Missouri and Illinois.<sup>31</sup> In those days the work of a presiding elder was to assist in revival meetings in new fields where churches were to be organized in addition to his administration work. He too was a successful evangelist travelling from one end of the district to the other holding camp meetings.<sup>32</sup> It was while Parker was preaching with Jesse Walker in the settlements near Cape Girardeau that John Scripps who was destined to be a prominent man in Missouri Methodism after the organization of the Missouri conference came under his influence and was converted.<sup>33</sup> Bishop Paine referred to him as "a highly useful man,"<sup>34</sup> and altho he appeared at times indolent and absent minded he was an able executive and preacher<sup>35</sup> who could draw crowds of people for long distances to hear him.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Article by John McOlean in *Annals of the American Pulpit*, p. 171. James Gwin quoted by Paine, *Life of William McKendree*, vol. I, pp. 168, 172-179.

<sup>31</sup>*Minutes of the Western Conference in the Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church 1808-1810.*

<sup>32</sup>J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>33</sup>Scripps in *Western Christian Advocate*, December 31, 1842.

<sup>34</sup>*Life of William McKendree.*

<sup>35</sup>Wines, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, p. 401.

<sup>36</sup>J. B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism*, p. 206.

Jesse Walker, whose services have been noted in connection with other preachers in the territory of Missouri, has been called the "Daniel Boone of Western Methodism" as a tribute to his preference to opening up new fields. While a young man in Virginia, without the advantage of Christian parents, he was converted in a camp meeting, went to Tennessee and entered the Methodist ministry. In 1806 he went to Illinois where the work was yet incompletely organized and from that time until 1812, when he became presiding elder of the Indiana district, he alternated between Illinois and Missouri as a circuit preacher.<sup>37</sup> Like McKendree he was a great evangelist travelling from one end of the district to the other holding camp meetings which attracted people thirty miles away. It was he who organized the first Methodist church in St. Louis.<sup>38</sup>

The name of Thomas Wright also belongs to the honor roll of the pioneer preachers of Missouri, he being the first man who spent his whole career laboring in this country. He entered the Western conference in 1809 after having served efficiently as a local preacher on the Merimac circuit. For thirteen years he labored as a circuit preacher in all the important settlements and for three years previous to his death in 1825 he was a presiding elder. W. S. Woodard, writing in 1893, said that he was then well remembered by the pioneers of Southeast Missouri.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE METHODIST CHURCHES AND PIONEER LIFE IN MISSOURI

Early writers grouped the pioneer immigrants into three classes according to their property and social characteristics. To the first belong those men with a passion for the life of the wilderness living largely by hunting game and grazing a few cattle on the wild grasses. These pushed on when the new settlers became numerous in the localities in which they lived.<sup>40</sup> Daniel Boone, a true representative of this type

<sup>37</sup>John D. Barnhart, Jr., *Rise of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois*, M. A. Thesis at Northwestern University.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>W. S. Woodard, *Annals of Methodism in Missouri*, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>40</sup>Catherine Cleveland, *The Great Revivals of the West*, p. 9.

said: "I think it is time to remove when I can no longer fall a tree so that its top will lie within a few yards of my cabin."<sup>41</sup>

The second class of immigrants brought along with them some property and their families. They made a living from the cultivation of the soil and having more of the requirements of settled life were less migratory.

The third group to which the name "Genteel" was sometimes applied were accustomed to luxuries unknown to the uncultivated regions. They had a tendency to raise the standard of living on the frontier.<sup>42</sup>

Timothy Flint, a New England preacher who lived in Missouri from 1816 to 1820, characterizes a typical Missourian of that day thus: "He is generally an amiable, virtuous man but has vices and barbarisms peculiar to his situation; . . . . his manners are rough. . . . he is destitute of the forms and observances of religion, but sincere and hospitable to strangers."<sup>43</sup>

The pioneer country home usually was a one-roomed cabin from fourteen to sixteen feet square, built of large logs put into position as sills. As one entered the cabin through a door without locks or hinges, into a room to which light was admitted through coon-greased paper, standing either on an earthen or puncheon floor, he saw a large fire-place at one end, simple furniture consisting perhaps of a cupboard made of boards, a slab table, oak rail bedsteads, split-bottom chairs, a long bench and a few three-legged stools. The ceilings were often adorned with opossum or raccoon hides to keep out the cold.<sup>44</sup>

Food was of a simple sort consisting of wild meats and vegetables with bread made of meal produced by pounding ears of corn.<sup>45</sup> Clothing for the whole family was made of cotton or wool produced at home. When a gentleman desired to be well dressed he donned a pair of deer skinned

<sup>41</sup>S. H. Long, in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XII, p. 70.

<sup>42</sup>Cleveland, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>Timothy Flint, *Travels in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 176, 177.

<sup>44</sup>R. D. Morris, *Miscellany*, pp. 88-91; Stevens, Walter B., *Missourians One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>John Hogan in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 10, 1853.

trousers fringed at the bottoms. Moccasins were ordinarily used for shoes.<sup>46</sup>

The chief forms of amusements were "log-rolls" and "corn-huskings" to which people came from long distances. "Quilting bees" were held at the same time for the entertainment of the women. A dance in which whiskey was used as a refreshment usually followed to finish the day's entertainment.<sup>47</sup>

Two of our presidents have paid worthy tribute to the early circuit rider ministers. William Henry Harrison is reported to have said, "They are men whom no labor tires, no scenes disgust, no danger frightens, in the discharge of their duties. To gain recruits for their Master's service, they sedulously seek out the victims of vice in the abodes of misery and wretchedness."<sup>48</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt said: "The whole west owes an immense debt to the hard-working pioneer preachers who were so glad to give their lives to their labors, and who struggled with such fiery zeal for the moral well-being of the communities which they penetrated. Wherever there was a group of log cabins some Methodist circuit rider made his way or some Baptist preacher made his abode. . . . they yielded scores of martyrs, nameless and unknown men who perished at the hands of the savages or by sickness or by flood or storm. Their fearlessness is shown by the recurring incidents where rowdies who attempted to break up the meetings were defeated by them in actual combat. Often men after participating in such combats came and joined the church."<sup>49</sup>

To travel a circuit in the early days required a capacity to endure great physical hardships. An average size circuit was about two hundred miles long and conditions of travel were such as to make it necessary for the itinerant to cross swollen streams by swimming his horse. He made the round about once a month having a different preaching place each

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<sup>46</sup>Walter Williams, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>48</sup>Bishop John W. Hamilton in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, January 12, 1916.

<sup>49</sup>Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. VI, pp. 90, 91. (Ed. of 1908).

night of the week. Sometimes the settlements were so far apart that night found him too far from the house in which to sleep and with his saddlebags for a pillow, he laid down in the woods exposed to the weather, wild beasts and savage Indians. A visit to the annual conference involved for the Missouri preachers oftentimes a journey of four hundred miles on horseback and since only a few could endure the hardships the early conferences were not well attended.<sup>50</sup> Bishop McKendree's tribute to them is that: "they never complained of hardships but were like soldiers in battle."<sup>51</sup>

The early preachers of the West received very little money as compensation for their services. Salaries were too small even to give proper financial support to a single man and frequently a preacher had to give up his work for something else, making the ministry his avocation while he gave the major part of this time to an occupation in which he could make a livelihood. Peter Cartwright, during ten years of his travels, was given no allowance by the conference for his wife and children but by the time the Missouri conference was organized (1816) a definite sum of forty-four dollars a year was allowed for a single man, while the married man received just twice that amount together with a budget allowance for house rent, fuel, table expenses and care of a horse.<sup>52</sup> Except for this division every preacher in the conference was put upon the same salary basis, and in case the receipts for the circuit exceeded that amount they were turned into the conference treasury to make up deficits.<sup>53</sup> Many of the laity considered the preacher's wife as an encumbrance and financial burden to him and the question was regularly asked at conference, "Who are under location through family connections?"<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup>The Missouri Conference which met at Cape Girardeau in 1819 had fourteen preachers present out of a conference membership of thirty-two; abridged minutes of the Missouri Conference for 1819 in the *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, January 13, 1875.

<sup>51</sup>Sermon of William McKendree in *Western Christian Advocate*, November 12, 1834.

<sup>52</sup>Peter Cartwright's *Autobiography*, p. 41. Edition of 1869.

<sup>53</sup>Anonymous article by an old circuit rider in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, December 9, 1874.

<sup>54</sup>Samuel W. Williams in *Methodist Quarterly Review*, October, 1871. Thomas Morris, in *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. VI, p. 102.

A Methodist preacher could hardly be found without some books for sale and the humblest home had a Bible, the Methodist Discipline, hymn book and the works of John Wesley. The Discipline was considered the guide to conduct and stood in importance next to the Bible.<sup>55</sup> Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith who came from the East to the West to find out the moral and religious conditions with a view to supplying missionary labor, reported to the Presbyterian missionary society that, "The leading characters of the Methodist society are very active in supplying the Western country with religious books. . . . the members are expected to buy all of their books from the preachers. We found their books almost everywhere in the possession of the obscurest families. . . . It puts to blush the other charitable institutions in the United States."<sup>56</sup>

The first places of worship were the houses of the settlers, but after the forests began to be cleared away and a little time could be found apart from building homes the men of the community met with their tools and constructed a simple log house for religious service. The walls of roughly-hewn logs were covered with a roof of clap-boards held down by poles. The floors were of puncheons and the pews of split logs hewn smooth with an ax. Behind the pulpit, which was also built of boards, was a small window often the only one in the building which gave the preacher light to read his Bible.<sup>57</sup>

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the camp meetings which were a prominent factor in the religious beginnings of the West. Two brothers, John and William McGee, one a Methodist and the other a Presbyterian, united in an evangelistic campaign beginning in the Cumberland region of Kentucky. Other preachers joined them in the work

<sup>55</sup>John Hogan in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 3, 1853.

<sup>56</sup>Letters of Stephen Hempstead, in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, September 27, 1916.

Mills and Smith, *Report of a Missionary Tour* p. 49.

<sup>57</sup>W. C. Smith, *Indiana Miscellany*, p. 62.

Samuel W. Williams in *Methodist Quarterly Review*, October 1871, p. 581.

and as other churches were in need of helpers it became convenient for preachers of various denominations to co-operate in the revivals. So popular were they that it became difficult to accommodate the crowds. Meetings had to be held out of doors and those who came for long distances, rather than return to their homes and miss a part of the services, brought camping equipment and stayed. These occasions soon developed into religious festivals, lasting from one to four weeks, depending upon the enthusiasm manifested. The movement spread over Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee and it was not long until it had touched the entire settled region of the West.<sup>53</sup>

The meetings in most communities were held annually and attended by thousands of people. In many of the camps tents used for dwellings were arranged in the form of a horseshoe around a rude platform at one end. If the same place was used year after year sometimes the houses were of logs covered with shingles or boards and the place of assembly a shed built to accommodate four or five thousand people.

The order of the day although it varied somewhat, usually began with the blowing of a trumpet at sunrise. One-half hour later family worship, compulsory for every tent, began. Immediately after breakfast group prayer meetings were held in various tents, and at ten in the morning, two in the afternoon, and seven in the evening preaching services were held. The evening services usually closed at nine for family worship, but often if a deep interest was manifested it continued all through the night.

The services were all of an evangelistic character. The preacher began with a sensational text. He was followed by an exhorter with an appeal to the "unsaved" and soon the whole congregation was in a wave of emotion, manifested by shouting and various forms of bodily exercises. Some were overcome by it and fell into trances. Early writers often reported: "the power of God fell on the people and hundreds

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<sup>53</sup>John McGee, Letters to J. L. Douglas, June 23, 1820 in the *Methodist Magazine* Vol. IV, p. 189.



fell like dead men in a battle." Preachers indicated their enthusiasm of the meetings by the number of "slain."<sup>59</sup>

These meetings were no doubt extravagantly emotional. The appeal to fear was over-emphasized and the merits of a useful present life neglected. But the rough pioneer was set to thinking about his individual responsibility for his sins. A few receded after each of these revivals but a large majority remained to recruit the church of the wilderness.<sup>60</sup> Through them the church was able to furnish religious inspiration, social contacts and a holiday season for those living in the immoral and irreligious environments of the frontier.

Since the itinerant preachers could not make their rounds more often than once every four or six weeks they organized discussion groups, appointed lay leaders, and called them "classes." Each community had one or more of these groups. But after a church organization developed the "class" became an auxiliary institution.<sup>61</sup> It met immediately after the preaching services or perhaps in the absence of the pastor once a week at some appointed time in the evening. It was not uncommon for people to walk five or six miles at night to attend the class meeting. The roll was called, a song was sung, scripture read and a prayer made. Then the leader asked each in turn "how he was growing and prospering in the love of God;" to which he was supposed to reply in the form of a testimony. The aim was to deal with the religious difficulties, doubts and temptations of each individual and particularly to warn him if he was in danger.<sup>62</sup>

Anyone might attend the class meeting if he signified his intention of becoming a Methodist but a ticket signifying good standing in church membership was ordinarily required.<sup>63</sup> The class made it a duty to test the moral and spiritual lives of its members and whoever did not attend its meetings with

<sup>59</sup>Peter Cartwright's *Autobiography*, p. 15.

William C. Howells in *Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. IX, pp. 203-212.

Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Vol. VI, p. 114.

Roosevelt *Winning of the West*, Vol. VI, p. 88.

<sup>60</sup>Roosevelt *Winning of the West*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

<sup>61</sup>Stevens, *History of the M. E. Church*, Vol. IV, p. 431.

<sup>62</sup>John Scripps *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. IX, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup>*Discipline of the M. E. Church* 1817.

some degree of regularity had his church membership questioned and was often turned out of the church. Peter Cartwright believed: "that no other means of grace has done more to build up the church than the class meeting."<sup>64</sup>

Next in importance to the class meeting was the quarterly meeting held every three months and lasting from Friday evening to Sunday evening. People attended these services from long distances. In anticipation of the event members living near the church stored in their homes provisions for the crowds who were too far away to go back home at night. Friday was observed as a day of fast. On Saturday the presiding elder preached twice and held the quarterly conference or business meeting in the afternoon. The Sunday morning service was followed by a love feast with closed and guarded doors that no rowdies might come to interrupt religious testimonies. In all of the meetings and especially on Sunday evenings an evangelistic appeal was made. If the interest justified it, revival services began, lasting two or three weeks.<sup>65</sup>

The aim of early Methodist preaching was to produce a noble manhood and womanhood. With much emphasis the itinerant taught original sin with its individual responsibility, freedom of the will and spiritual regeneration. They were strict in the moral requirements of the members, dealing with vices in their particulars and without hesitation telling an offender where his weaknesses were. Everyone was required to observe the Sabbath, reverence God, deal justly, obey the law and be brotherly in his conduct.<sup>66</sup>

#### THE MISSOURI CONFERENCE

The Missouri churches were a part of the Western conference until 1812 when the settled area had grown enough to justify a division into the Ohio and Tennessee conferences. For the next four years preachers of Missouri undertook the

<sup>64</sup>Peter Cartwright's *Autobiography*, pp. 259, 260.

<sup>65</sup>John Scripps in *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. IX, p. 185.

Samuel Williams, *Methodist Quarterly Review*, October, 1871, p. 584.

J. V. Watson, *Tales and Takings*, p. 366.

<sup>66</sup>T. M. Eddy, in *Methodist Quarterly Review*, April 1857, pp. 286-287.

perilous journey each year on horseback to the Tennessee conference.

In 1816 the settlements in Illinois and Missouri and those in the northern half of Arkansas<sup>67</sup> with that portion of Indiana west of a line running north from Madison were organized into the Missouri conference.<sup>68</sup> At the close of the first year it reported three thousand members and being now better organized for the work of the frontier, increased in eight years to twelve thousand.<sup>69</sup> It had an average addition of about nineteen hundred per year the greatest growth being in 1820. From a beginning of two districts and fifteen circuits it had grown in 1821, four years before the Illinois conference was set off, to five districts, forty-two circuits and one station.<sup>70</sup>

By 1824 the territory west of the Mississippi river was pretty well settled and the church in Missouri having formed well established centers it was thought best to divide the field. The Illinois conference was then organized,<sup>71</sup> leaving the old Missouri conference with those settlements in Missouri and Arkansas.<sup>72</sup>

When the Missouri conference met for the first time in 1816 it had three thousand church members, two districts and twenty circuits. In 1820 there were more than seven thousand church members, five districts and thirty-two circuits. Although Missouri gave its name to the conference it itself had but one district until the Cape Girardeau district was set off in 1819.<sup>73</sup> Beyond the present state boundaries on the south the field was extended to include the settlements of the Arkansas river and its tributaries and in 1818 the Black river district was organized.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>67</sup>The Arkansas river was the boundary of the Missouri territory until 1819.

<sup>68</sup>P. C. Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, p. 31.

<sup>69</sup>*Methodist Discipline*, 1817 p. 176.

<sup>70</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church for 1817*.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>In May 1824; *Scripps in Western Christian Advocate* Vol. IX, p. 185.

<sup>73</sup>There were in Missouri but two Presiding Elders' districts and about twenty-seven hundred church members. In Arkansas there was one district with about six hundred members. *Minutes*, Vol. I, p. 453.

<sup>74</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church*.

<sup>75</sup>It was called Arkansas District in 1820.

In 1820 the territory of Missouri became a state and ten new counties were organized. Their boundaries reached far beyond the streams but the settlers had not yet begun to penetrate the prairies. The farthest settlements west in 1818 were on the Grand river, which John Scripps had made the boundary of the Boonslick circuit.<sup>75</sup> From 1818 when it was first organized Scripps preached in all the settlements on both sides of the Missouri river from Cedar Creek opposite Jefferson City to Grand river. In 1818, however, the settlements south of the Missouri were set off as the Lamine circuit.<sup>76</sup>

#### METHODISM IN ST. LOUIS

There were no organized Protestant churches in St. Louis prior to 1816. The aversion of the Methodist preachers for the villages has already been noted. St. Louis was considered especially a difficult field due to religious rivalry, the French who were Roman Catholics, and the general unbelief and immorality of the Anglo-American population.<sup>77</sup> The country needed the gospel and welcomed the Methodist ministers; it was easy in the presence of such a call for the preachers to turn away from St. Louis and persuade themselves that they had acted "according to the will of God." They did not have the training to which many of the refined inhabitants were accustomed and criticisms upon their qualifications<sup>78</sup> may have made them self-conscious.

St. Louis was a discouraging field to all Protestant ministers. The Episcopal church began in 1819 and by 1821 it was a dormant society.<sup>79</sup> The Methodist preachers did their work with no regularity. John Mason Peck, a Baptist preacher and schoolmaster there in 1818, wrote discouragingly that the French, who comprised a third of the population, in-

<sup>75</sup>Scripps in the *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. IX, p. 157.

<sup>76</sup>Lamine river probably suggested its name. It empties into the Missouri river near Boonville.

<sup>77</sup>Rufus Babcock, *Life of J. M. Peck*, pp. 87, 88.

<sup>78</sup>Letters of Stephen Hempstead, to John F. Schermerhorn and others, 1813-1815 in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, September 27, 1916. Hempstead was a Presbyterian layman living near St. Louis who attempted to interest the preachers of his denomination in organizing a church in the city.

<sup>79</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 233.

fluenced by letters from religiously indifferent friends in France, regarded Catholicism as a "priestcraft" and celebrated the Mass with insincerity; that one half of the Anglo-American people were unbelievers and scoffers of religion, regarding it as many of their French associates did, beneath the dignity of Gentlemen and the mind of the intelligent. The Sabbath, Peck says, was like any other day. The stores were all open, farmers peddled their vegetables on the street and many made it a general day of amusement.<sup>80</sup>

There was some preaching in St. Louis in 1812 and 1813, by Methodist itinerants who passed through the city. Stephen Hempstead reported that there was no "stated worship of any kind." Even the Catholics did not at that time have a resident priest.<sup>81</sup> In 1817 John Scripps preached in the theatre regularly once a week and his successor Jesse Haille continued it but it was soon abandoned for want of a place in which to meet.<sup>82</sup> Two years later Scripps appealed to Jesse Walker, the presiding elder, to transfer Thomas Wright from the Saline circuit to the Cold Water circuit that he might minister to St. Louis. Wright having acquired a reputation as an evangelist was thought to have been an able man for the place and Scripps' appeal was granted. The warning of the people to Thomas Wright that he would receive very little encouragement was a true prophecy for he like the others abandoned the city and devoted his time to the nearby country.<sup>83</sup>

#### JESSE WALKER

The first successful attempt to plant Methodism in St. Louis was made by Jesse Walker. On his way to the General conference at Baltimore in 1820 in company with John Scripps, Walker was heard to tell of his intentions in this metropolis of the West. When the Missouri conference met that year

<sup>80</sup>Babcock, *Life of Peck*, pp. 87, 88.

Babcock quoted from Peck's *Journal* which has been destroyed.

<sup>81</sup>Letter of Stephen Hempstead to John F. Schermerhorn, 1813 *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, September 27, 1916.

<sup>82</sup>Babcock, pp. 91, 92.

<sup>83</sup>John Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate* Mar. 6, 1843; Babcock, p. 92. A. McAlister in *Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 114.

Walker secured an appointment as conference missionary, which gave him the privilege of working in any field he considered needful. The door of opportunity now being open to him he engaged two young preachers and they began to make their plan at a meeting they held in the city. The legislature was then in session and the city being crowded it did not extend the entertainment the young men expected. The apparent inhospitality added to the reputed wickedness of St. Louis discouraged the young men and they went home leaving Walker to himself.<sup>84</sup> The departure of his assistants, the advice of the legislators that St. Louis being Catholic in sentiment would not support a Methodist organization, led Walker himself to give up his plans and start for Mississippi. But he had too much of the spirit of heroism to be defeated. A few miles from the city he came to the conviction that to abandon his plans would be an "act of distrust in Jesus Christ." He turned around and rode back determined to try again.<sup>85</sup> Thereafter when discouraging advice was given to him he replied: "I have come in the name of Christ to take St. Louis and by the grace of God I will."

He began by making a survey to find out the number of Methodists, rented an old building on Third street which had been used at different times as a court house and a blacksmith shop, taught a school, did pastoral visitation during the week and preached on Sundays.<sup>86</sup> Receiving no financial support either from the church or the school,<sup>87</sup> he kept a mill in Illinois from which he sold meal to the people in St. Louis.

Although not a great preacher, his gracious personality coming in contact with the people soon won a place in their hearts.<sup>88</sup> The colored people were first attracted, then the poor whites and finally the more refined.<sup>89</sup> In a few months he had a small organization. The building which he occupied

<sup>84</sup>John Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, March 3, 1843.

<sup>85</sup>Morris, *Miscellany*, p. 187.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup>Peck, in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 31, 1853.

<sup>88</sup>Hogan, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, April 7, 1853.

<sup>89</sup>Governor John Reynolds, *History of My Own Times*, p. 189.

being needed for other purposes he then undertook to build a church. Securing the materials from a friend in Illinois he ferried it across the river and with the help of a man hired by himself<sup>90</sup> soon completed a small building which served both as a church and a school room. After one year he reported to the annual conference a membership of seventy and received an official appointment to the "St. Louis Mission."<sup>91</sup> In 1823 when Walker went to work among the Indians<sup>92</sup> near Peoria, Illinois, William Beauchamp who had served the largest churches in the East, once an editor and then the founder of the religious colony of Mount Carmel, Illinois, became his successor. Although he stayed but one year he left a deep impression upon the people and was even remembered by pioneers living in the city in 1851.<sup>93</sup> For years afterward this church was known as "Father Walker's Church" and had the good fortune of having John Scripps and Andrew Monroe, the two ablest men in the conference as its pastors.<sup>94</sup>

From 1813 to 1817 the West was in the midst of wild speculations and by 1821 St. Louis shared with other western villages the financial depression which usually follows an overestimation of a country's development. Banks and business houses failed and it was hard for even those who were accustomed to luxuries to get the necessities of life.<sup>95</sup> There is no account of what the effect was upon the religious life of the West but under such circumstances institutions could not be expected to grow rapidly.

During the eight years which followed the organization of the Missouri conference the churches of the state were served by such men as Jesse Walker, John Scripps, Alexander McAllister, Thomas Wright, William Beauchamp and Andrew Monroe. Andrew Monroe served the Methodists of the state in the sixties. When the civil war closed it was he who rallied together the discouraged preachers of the Missouri conference.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup>*Minutes* 1823.

<sup>92</sup>McAllister, in *Methodist Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 114.

<sup>93</sup>D. R. M'Anally, *Methodism in Missouri*, p. 304.

M'Anally began the *St. Louis Christian Advocate* that year.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 211, 212.



"Father" Walker, as seen by a contemporary, was a man about five and one-half feet tall, slender in form with a sallow complexion, light hair, small blue eyes, prominent cheek bones and a pleasant countenance. His pleasant manner and fondness for telling stories out of his long and varied experience on the frontier made him an attractive personality. He was a man of little education and though not a great preacher his earnestness, perseverance, and piety made his sermons very effective.<sup>96</sup> His love of the wilderness, fondness for seeking out new settlements, and capacity to endure hardships made presiding elders everywhere seek him to undertake the work of forming new circuits.<sup>97</sup>

He was born in North Carolina and came to Tennessee in 1800. Until 1802 he followed the occupation of skin dresser. At that time he was admitted into the conference and sent to the Red River circuit in Tennessee. After traveling in that state and Kentucky for four years he was sent to Illinois to take charge of the entire settled area. He began holding camp meetings and visiting from house to house reporting in one year a large increase in membership where his predecessors had had little success.<sup>98</sup> He labored in Illinois and Missouri alternating part of the time as a pastor and part as a presiding elder until he left St. Louis in 1823. After spending two years as a missionary to the Indians near Peoria, Illinois, he moved to Des Plaines and kept a tavern until his death in 1834.<sup>99</sup>

#### JOHN SCRIPPS

Next to Jesse Walker stands John Scripps. During his work in the Missouri conference from 1815 to 1824 he labored entirely in Missouri with the exception of two years as the first presiding elder in Arkansas and one year on the Illinois circuit.<sup>100</sup> He was an efficient secretary of the Missouri conference for eight years,<sup>101</sup> and the successor of Walker and

<sup>96</sup>Morris, *Miscellany*, p. 180.

<sup>97</sup>Abel Stevens, *History of the M. E. Church*, Vol. IV, p. 354.

<sup>98</sup>Morris, *Miscellany*, p. 179.

<sup>99</sup>Hogan, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 31, 1853.

<sup>100</sup>Minutes, 1824.

<sup>101</sup>Scripps, in *Western Christian Advocate*, March 10, 1843.

Beauchamp in the St. Louis church.<sup>102</sup> It is he to whom credit is due for establishing the Methodist churches in the Boonslick area, the central part of the state which at the close of our period composed four circuits.<sup>103</sup> During the years 1820 and 1824 he was a member of the general conference.<sup>104</sup>

Scripps was a small man of dark complexion and a face pitted by smallpox. Being constitutionally a man of poor health he retired from the ministry in middle age and went into business. Like Jesse Walker he was a man not afraid of hardships, traveling long distances on horseback up the Missouri valley and marking the trees to guide him on his return. One contemporary who often followed him on new circuits, said that wherever Scripps went he was loved by his people and made lasting friendships.<sup>105</sup>

The Methodist church opposed slavery and the preachers who had the courage to do so preached against it. There were more slaves in Howard county in 1819 than in any other county in the territory yet Scripps not only preached against it to his congregation of slave owners but had the courage to circulate a petition among the people to be presented to the legislature restricting slave ownership to those who were already in the territory.<sup>106</sup>

Another man who played an important part in the development of the Methodist church in Missouri during the first eight years of the Missouri conference was Alexander McAlister. While a mere youth of no religious inclinations he came from Kentucky, lived with John Scripps near Cape Girardeau for three months where he was converted in one of Jesse Walker's camp meetings,<sup>107</sup> and finally in 1816 became a member of the Missouri conference.<sup>108</sup> He was a tall man of a sturdy physical constitution.<sup>109</sup> His contemporaries re-

<sup>102</sup>*Minutes*, 1824.

<sup>103</sup>Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, March 10, 1843; *Minutes*, 1924.

<sup>104</sup>Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, March 3, 10, 1843.

<sup>105</sup>Hogan, in *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 17, 1853.

<sup>106</sup>Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, March 3, 1843.

<sup>107</sup>Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, December 30, 1842.

<sup>108</sup>*Minutes*, 1816.

<sup>109</sup>Berryman, J. C., *Recollections*; quotations from this are found in M'Anally *History of Methodism in Missouri*, p. 338.

ferred to him as a man of originality, clearness of mind, and cool judgment. He was a circuit preacher until 1824 but later served the church as a presiding elder four years during which time he was considered the leading man of the conference.<sup>110</sup>

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It has been seen that the years from 1806 to 1816 mark a period of beginnings for the Methodist churches in Missouri. Increased immigration following the war of 1812 stimulated this denomination to a better development of its organization and to preparation to a more extensive field. The Methodist churches began their work in the territory near St. Louis, then gradually extended their field south including the settlements near Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. When settlers began pouring into Boonslick on the Missouri river in the central part of the state, Methodist itinerants came to preach to them.

When the Missouri conference was left with only the churches in Missouri and Arkansas (1824) it was prepared for cultivating old fields. St. Louis which had had a reputation for vice and irreligion, was by 1826 showing much improvement. Timothy Flint reported that "The manners and character of the people were respectable and the Sabbath was better observed. There is an increasing number of religious societies in the country, of which the Methodists are most numerous."<sup>111</sup> Missouri in these early days was a typical frontier with its hard and cruel life and with temptations of the vilest sort. The Methodist church in the presence of such environment held up Christian ideals, and its ministers were continually preaching against vice. In addition to being a factor for law and order it welded together through its class and camp meetings settlers from different parts of the country with different habits of life and different ideals. Wherever the Methodist itinerant went, he carried his books and dis-

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<sup>110</sup>Hogan, *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, March 24, 1853.

<sup>111</sup>Scripps, *Western Christian Advocate*, January 13, 1843.

<sup>112</sup>Timothy Flint, *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 317.

tributed them among people who were otherwise unable to get them. The Methodist church with its well-organized itineracy became an educational, moral, and religious factor in the development of Missouri.<sup>112</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt once made a speech before a Methodist annual conference on the subject, "John Wesley and American Methodism" in which he said: "The Methodist Church has played a peculiar and prominent part in the pioneer growth of our country and has assumed a place of importance throughout every region west of the Alleghenies. In the hard cruel life of the border with its struggle against forbidden forces, a wild nature and wilder men, there was much to pull the frontier man down. If he had been left without these moral forces sad would have been his fate."<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup>A good article on the contribution of Methodism to the West is found in Sweet's *Rise of Methodism in the West*, chapter IV.

<sup>113</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, in *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1903.

**DANIEL DUNKLIN**

BY FRED FITZGERALD

Daniel Dunklin, fifth governor of Missouri, was born on the 14th of January, 1790, in Greenville district, South Carolina. He was the son of Joseph Dunklin, Jr., born April 13th, 1760; and Sarah Margaret Sullivan, born August 21st, 1764. They were married in Greenville, South Carolina, September 26th, 1786. His father, who was a private soldier in the Revolutionary War and served the seven years under Gen. Francis Marion, was the son of Joseph Dunklin, Sr., (1725-1785) and Jean Wathen (1730-1785). They were married at Four Hole Swamp, South Carolina, June 15th, 1748.

Daniel Dunklin attended several terms at the Greenville district school. He was a favorite with his teachers and was very popular among his schoolmates.

In the year 1806, his father moved to Caldwell county, Kentucky, and purchased a farm there. He returned to Greenville shortly afterwards to bring his family back to Kentucky but while on this visit, he became ill and died within a few weeks. His brother John moved the family to Kentucky where they remained until 1810.

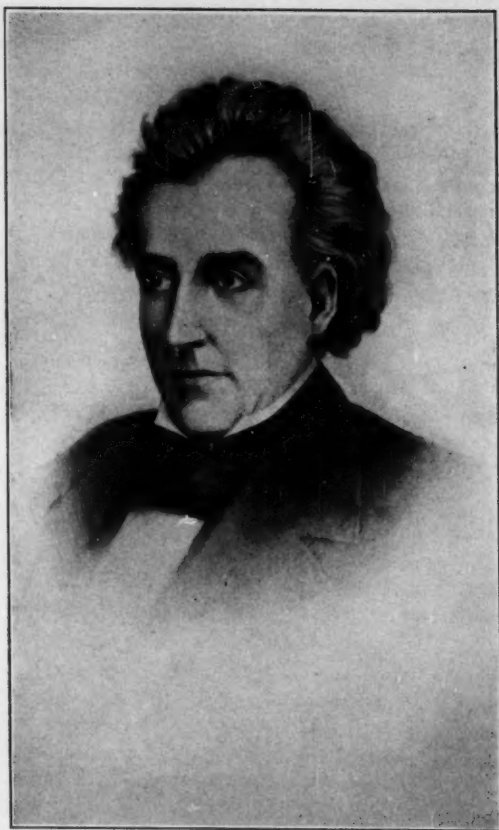
During this short stay in Kentucky, Daniel Dunklin worked very hard on the farm. He had dreams of becoming a lawyer and in his spare time he read Blackstone. He was also fond of hunting but his greatest delight was listening to tales of adventure. He heard much of the country beyond the Mississippi and longed to see Missouri. This wish was granted sooner than he had expected for the crops continued to fail and his mother, already disgusted with Kentucky, made preparations to move to Missouri. Accordingly they sold their farm and in December, 1810, they moved to Ste. Genevieve, at that time an important city of Missouri. They remained here two months, and then moved to Potosi, where they bought a small farm.

Between the years 1812 and 1815 the settlers in the northwestern states and territories were much exposed to the depredations of the British and Indians. In the Territory of Missouri the inhabitants found protection under the sheltering arms of the gallant Dodge and his intrepid associates. As a member of this chivalrous band, Dunklin served three campaigns in the territories of Missouri and Illinois.

At the close of the war in 1815 he received the appointment of sheriff for Washington county by Governor Clark. He held this position four years. During this period he was admitted to the bar but did very little practice. Shortly after his appointment he journeyed back to his old home in Kentucky and on the 23rd of November, 1815, married his boyhood sweetheart, Emily Haley (1797-1851). He brought his young bride to Potosi and there erected a small tavern. This tavern was a general meeting place where topics of the day were discussed. Dunklin was a deep reader and in his home could always be found the best newspapers and books of the day. People considered Dunklin a wise man and it was through his entreaties that the Potosi Academy was founded. He donated over five hundred volumes to its library as well as aiding in the construction of the building. When the funds ran low and it became very difficult to pay the master, Dunklin kept him at the tavern without any expense to the academy.

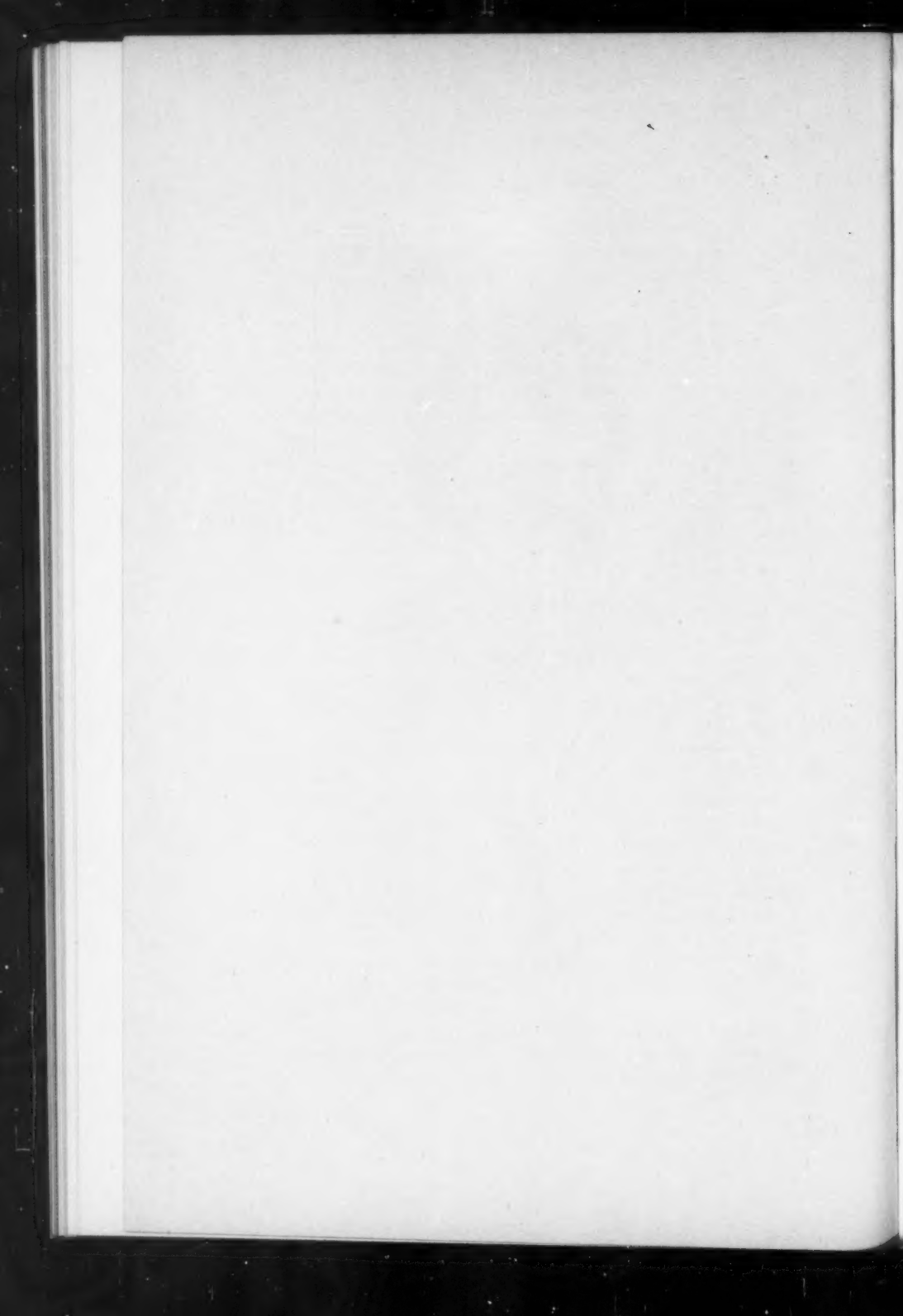
Potosi in the early part of the nineteenth century was an important mining center. Money was often so scarce that the settlers used tiff and lead as a means of exchange. They would come to Potosi and after purchasing their needs, they would retire to Dunklin's tavern and there remain until dark. It was on a hot, sultry day in July, 1822, that a group of delegates from the various sections of Washington county gathered at this tavern to nominate for their interests a representative in the state legislature, which was then held in the village of St. Charles.

There were two candidates for this office: Amos J. White, a wealthy miner, and Thos. Higginbotham, a young farmer. The balloting began at ten in the morning. The delegates



GOVERNOR DANIEL DUNKLIN





were evenly divided as to their choice and at noon no candidate had as yet been chosen. A recess of one hour was declared for dinner. Promptly at one the chairman ordered the delegates to again cast their ballots. Evening drew on and still no one was nominated. When there seemed no chance of either White or Higginbotham being nominated, someone suggested Dunklin as being desirable, stating that "a man who had served us so well in school work would make us a good representative." Accordingly Dunklin was nominated and later elected. He served in this capacity during the years 1822-1823. He distinguished himself in the legislature by his knowledge of parliamentary law. He also gained the friendship of Frederick Bates, later governor of Missouri, and other prominent politicians.

The next four years were spent in Potosi. Here he became vitally interested in the mines and his investments proved very profitable. However he could not resist the lure of politics and in 1828 he became a candidate for lieutenant-governor and was elected.

It was during this term of office that he made plans to occupy the gubernatorial chair. In accordance with these plans he became quite interested in all legislation concerning the rural districts. He was also very active in the affairs of the Jackson party.

In the election of 1832 Dunklin received 9,121 votes, John Bull 8,035 votes, and S. C. Davis 386 votes. As was expected St. Louis voted strong for Bull but the canny Dunklin had foreseen the strength of the rural districts and they overcame the lead of St. Louis.

When Dunklin became governor the great question before the American people was nullification. In 1832 the state of South Carolina attempted to nullify the tariff laws and President Jackson took steps to enforce the authority of the federal government, ordering two war vessels to Charleston and placing troops within convenient distance. He also issued a proclamation warning the people of South Carolina against the consequences of their conduct.

Dunklin in his campaign speeches sided with Jackson in this matter. However upon entering the gubernatorial chair he became very inconsistent regarding nullification and his enemies soon discovered it. In his inaugural address he states: "I conceive that the federal government was formed and ratified by the people of the different States, as States, and not by the whole body of the people of the United States as one political society;—hence it follows from the nature of the compact that the States themselves are the proper arbiters for deciding all questions not specifically provided for in the constitution."

An opposition paper commented upon it as follows: "In the address of Dunklin we find the doctrine of nullification broadly advanced—a doctrine so utterly at variance with the feelings of the people of Missouri, that we confess our special wonder that Governor Dunklin should for a moment dare to entertain it. If nullification is henceforth to be considered as a cardinal principle in the creed of the Jackson politicians of Missouri, we are glad our sapient Governor has proclaimed it. But we marvel whether those who have been most warm in the support of Governor Dunklin will not shrink from the attitude in which he has placed them. They must either give up the man and the party of which he assumes to be the mouthpiece, or they must denounce the abominable doctrine now officially advanced by him".<sup>1</sup>

In his message of January 12th, 1833, he asks, "Is it nullification to disregard a process or mandate of the Courts of the United States? If it be, then I am in favor of it; because it may be the only mode of checking the spirit of encroachment by which that department of the federal government is sometimes impelled." And yet he did not believe that a single state should arrest a law of congress and if that be the case "then nullification is an evil in our political system". However he came to the conclusion "that South Carolina in her late proceedings was wrong; first as to the fact of the law being unconstitutional; but if right in this, then she was premature in her measures of redress. It has

<sup>1</sup>*Missourian Republican* (St. Louis) Nov. 22, 1832.

never been questioned, nor indeed can it be, that Congress has the power to levy import duties. The power may be abused, and I am of the opinion it has been. But if every abuse of power by Congress should be encountered by nullifying edicts of a State, our federal system would not be worth preservation."

During the period from 1820 to 1835 no real system of free schools had yet made its appearance. Those schools which had been established had to depend wholly upon private endowment and private support in the form of donations, fees and tuition, consequently the development was very slow.

Governor Dunklin's greatest interest was in schools. In fact he is often called the father of Missouri's school system. In his campaign speeches he repeatedly stated that, if elected, he would establish public schools upon a firm and stable foundation. In his inaugural address he says, "The idea of bestowing benefits upon the people by giving encouragement to any particular branch of industry, either by encouraging the circulating medium or by offering premiums, direct or indirect, if it does not wholly fail in its object, becomes a tax upon the many for the benefit of the few. The encouragement of education does not come within this rule. Although the expense of promoting it is a tax upon the people, the benefit is not confined to the few; for education is the best safeguard to our republican institutions, and the only rampart capable of resisting the approach of aristocracy."

It seems that education was foremost in his mind for we find him writing to Senator Thos. H. Benton, "The Legislature is apparently indifferent toward the establishment of a public school system but I believe that I can get them interested".<sup>2</sup> His efforts were not in vain for, "In 1833 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint a committee to formulate a complete system of common and public schools. Governor Dunklin appointed Joseph Hertich, John J. Lowery and Abel R. Corbin. This committee did its work in a very comprehensive manner. An elaborate report

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<sup>2</sup>Feb. 8th, 1833.

was prepared which was submitted to the Governor the same year".<sup>3</sup>

On November 28, 1834, he submitted the report to the General Assembly with these remarks: "As it is scarcely possible, that a subject of more vital importance to our free institutions can be brought before the General Assembly, the lively hope may well be cherished, that it will not fail to receive that deliberation, of which it is so eminently deserving, all other topics, of whatever moment lose in importance when brought into comparison with this. And if the members of the General Assembly are inspired with a laudable ambition of being distinguished, above all that have preceded them, should they be desirous of handing down their names to posterity as public benefactors, let them establish a system of primary schools, not only to meet the present necessities and condition of the country, but one susceptible of an extension, adequate to the future exigencies of the State."

"After much discussion and tremendous pressure exerted by the Governor, the General Assembly in 1835 passed laws incorporating the more important features of the Committee's report. These features are as follows:

1. The report provided for a Board of Commissioners for literary purposes. In reality this is the organization of the first Board of Education. The board consisted of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer and Attorney General. It is interesting to observe this is the form of the present State Board of Education.
2. The report provided that schools should continue for at least six months in each year.
3. Schools were to be supported out of the school funds in each county.
4. The law made provisions also for local taxation as follows: A vote taken over the whole county could secure three and one-third cents on each one hundred dollars for school purposes, on two-thirds majority vote. A board of three trustees for each district was provided for with corporate powers. The course of study to be taught was reading,

<sup>3</sup>*Century of Education in Missouri*, by C. A. Phillips, page 8.

writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and such other branches (theology excepted) as the funds might justify".<sup>4</sup>

With the passage of these school laws his friends became very jubilant and President Jackson wrote, "This is your bid for eternal fame".

This system was adopted in some of the larger towns and cities and fared well, despite the decided repugnance manifested toward it. However, in the small towns and rural districts it was not so successful. This was due to the sparsity of the population and lack of funds. The main objection to the system was that it was too complicated to be understood. As a matter of fact the people were accustomed to the looseness of the subscription schools and had yet to learn the benefits derived from public schools. The system was really intended for a permanent and sedentary population, and naturally flourished best in densely inhabited regions. It was enlarged upon later but it was the seed from which sprung our present school system.

In his message of November 18th, 1834, Dunklin recommended that a site for a state university be chosen. In this same message he states: "There are 37,424 acres of Seminary and Saline lands unsold which, at \$1.25 per acre, will produce \$46,780, making the whole university fund, on the 1st of October, 1836, worth \$145,343.56—a sum, which, if well managed, will bring revenue sufficient to support an institution, in which may be taught most, if not all the sciences in the highest perfection."

Governor Dunklin resigned his office three months before the end of his term. Soon after his retirement from the executive chair, he received from the federal government the appointment of surveyor-general for Missouri and Illinois. This office was held but a short time, the discharge of its duties conflicting too much with his ordinary business pursuits.

Even in his retirement Dunklin still remained interested in the public schools. On January 20th, 1837, we find him

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, page 9.

writing to Henry S. Geyer, also a firm advocate of education and the author of the Geyer Act of 1839: "Primary school instruction is a subject I very much wish to be systematized, and depend upon it, my good sir, that no system of that kind can be made popular with the great mass of people, unless the subject is frequently brought to their earnest consideration; and that can be done in no way so well as by taxing them lightly every year for that purpose. Most men who have no children to send to school will grumble at first at being taxed. This will require all the friends of the system to defend it. And is it not defensible? Nothing, in my opinion is more completely so. Why, sir, we might as well have an educated people without a government as to have a government without education."

In 1840 he moved from Potosi to Herculaneum. He purchased a large tract of land near the latter city and called his new home Maje. He farmed here for the next three years and in 1843 he was appointed by Governor Reynolds as Commissioner on the part of Missouri to adjust and designate the boundary between Arkansas and Missouri. He held this appointment until his death, being unable to complete the survey because of the high water and inclemency of the season.

In the early part of July, 1844, he paid a visit to Jefferson City. Returning home he was caught in a severe storm and contracted pneumonia. He gradually became worse and about midnight of the 25th he died.

He was buried two days later with Masonic honors in a small field near his home. Public men and friends from many parts of the state gathered there to pay their final tribute to his kindness and generosity. In 1885 his remains were reburied with impressive ceremonies on a high cliff overlooking the majestic Mississippi.

A contemporary spoke of him as follows: "Dunklin was the architect of his own fortune, a self-made man. He was not a good speaker, his innate modesty and retiring disposition forming the only barriers to distinction. In conversation he argued a point with as much clearness and precision of idea and expression as any man. He was a ready and an



able political writer and contributed largely by his pen to secure for his party that uniform ascendancy which it has so long possessed in Missouri. Of all the traits of his character he was perhaps the most distinguished for his unbounded love of his country and his ardent and devoted attachments to its institutions. A lover of liberty he was wary and jealous of that encroaching nature which appears to be inherent in all governments, he was therefore to its fullest extent, a strict constructionist. Always a zealous advocate for the liberty of the subject, he was for defining strictly all delegated authorities. Inflexibly rigid in the punctual and correct discharge of official duties himself he could not tolerate official malevolency in others. It was one of his cardinal measures that all offices should periodically expire."<sup>3</sup>

Dunklin was about 5 feet 8 inches in height, slim, erect and sinewy. He had angular features, a very ruddy complexion, and sandy hair. Beneath a quiet surface he was fairly aglow with intense convictions and had a very emotional temperament. Yet he seems to have acted habitually in great and little things, on system. He was singularly sweet tempered, and shrank from the impassioned political bitterness that raged about him. He cherished very few personal animosities and his kindness of heart rose above all difficulties; and nothing destroyed his confidence in men and his sanguine views of life.

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<sup>3</sup>*Jeffersonian Republican* (Jefferson City) August 21st, 1844.

## TWO FORGOTTEN HEROES—JOHN HANSON MCNEILL AND HIS SON JESSE

BY W. D. VANDIVER

How fickle is fame! In Missouri Civil War history there were two men of almost exactly the same name, but totally different in character and career and of no blood relationship so far as known—John Hanson McNeill, an old Virginia gentleman, heavy bearded, brave, and tender hearted, who never harmed a human being except in open battle; and John McNeill, the barbarous author of the Palmyra massacre and other atrocities which render his memory infamous in the minds of many people.

But the name of the other McNeill is not mentioned in any history of Missouri that I am able to find, although in the official publication of the United States government entitled *Records of The War of Rebellion* his name appears in probably three hundred places, oftener, I think, than that of any other man on either side below the rank of brigadier-general. It is mentioned in terms of confidence and praise by Robert E. Lee on one side and many times by the war department and generals of high rank on the Federal side—Sheridan, Crook, Grant, and others, usually in warning to each other to "look out for the McNeill Rangers."

Who was this man that excited so much terror to the Federal authorities in West Virginia? In my childhood recollections of Civil War times in Missouri no picture stands out more clearly than that of this grim warrior in well-worn Confederate uniform and heavy dark whiskers extending almost down to his waist, and his son Jesse, a beardless and long-legged young man just grown, as they came back from Price's army in the fall of 1861 to visit the wife and mother, temporarily staying at our house a few miles southwest of Columbia. And then a year later, when the thrilling story of their exploits in West Virginia began to filter through the lines back to Missouri, my boyish fancy drank it in as told around the family fireside.

## THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER

But to the story. John Hanson McNeill, the son of Strother McNeill of Hardy county, Virginia, was born June 12, 1815, and married Jemima Cunningham in 1837. About a year later they moved west and spent five or six years in Kentucky and then returned to Virginia. But in 1848, with his wife, four children, and a family of negro slaves, he moved to Boone county, Missouri, settling on a farm three miles south of Columbia, living in the old brick house known as the Johnston place, a part of which house is still standing. Here he became one of the best farmers of the county, a breeder and successful exhibitor of Shorthorn cattle, winning many premiums in the old Boone County Fair every year. He replenished his herd with the finest stock that he could find in Kentucky and Ohio, and continued to win blue ribbons and silver cups in the various county and state fairs. In 1855 he moved to Daviess county, bought a 300-acre farm, and continued to be a practical farmer and exhibitor of fine cattle.

## THE WARRIOR

When the war clouds gathered and the storm burst in 1861, Governor Jackson commissioned him to raise a company to join Price's army. He did so and took three sons with him to the war. They fought with him in a number of battles, Carthage and Wilson's Creek, and then at Lexington where the Captain himself was badly wounded and carried off the field in the same carriage which conveyed Col. Mulligan, the Federal commander, who had surrendered to General Price. But McNeill had to leave his second son, George, dead on the battlefield, where a small headstone still marks his grave. After this his oldest son, William, returned home to his family. Jesse and his wounded father started south with Price's army, but had to fall behind and stop at Neosho for the wounds to heal. Then they took a furlough forrest and recuperation. After spending some time with relatives near Arrow Rock in Saline county they came across the river to visit old friends in Boone county, the wife and mother having

joined them with the old servant also, "Uncle Sam" as we all called him. Sam was a faithful old slave who insisted on accompanying his master to the army, though he had two wives at home, saying he "could get another wife but might never get another good master." They were expecting soon to go south and rejoin General Price's army.

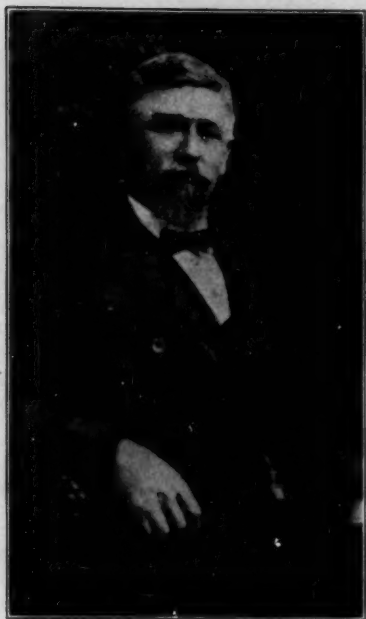
#### TAKEN PRISONER BUT TREATED LENIENTLY

While visiting Mrs. McNeill's brother, David B. Cunningham, in the lower part of Boone county, they were surprised one morning about daybreak to find the house surrounded by a squad of General Merrill's Horse Guard who captured them and brought them up to Columbia where they were imprisoned in the old University then used as a Federal prison.

Fortunately for them some of their old friends in Columbia were strong Union men, Col. Wm. F. Switzler among them, and through his influence they were treated with great leniency and paroled so that they could visit friends in town, but return to prison at night. They observed their parole with scrupulous honor and the limits were soon extended to ten miles in the country and they were frequent visitors at my father's home, four miles from town; and on one occasion Jesse was allowed to go back down to the south end of the county to visit his Aunt and Uncle David Cunningham; and on his return he traded General Merrill a mule for the horse that had been taken with him when first captured; and he became quite a friend of the Federal officer. But a still stranger scene occurred when a number of Confederate ladies got consent of General Merrill to make Captain McNeill a new suit of clothes and they made him a handsome new Confederate uniform, which, though a prisoner on parole, he was allowed to wear on the streets of Columbia; so great was the confidence reposed in him by old acquaintances that General Merrill was soon also impressed with his sense of honor. Col. Switzler had said to the officer, "Let him go anywhere in the county and I guarantee he will return when he promises to do so," and this endorsement he made good. In fact their imprisonment here, as Jesse afterward declared, "was more like an extended visit among friends than an enforced confinement."



CAPTAIN J. HANSON McNEILL



CAPTAIN JESSE McNEILL



## PRISON TRANSFER AND ESCAPE

But after some two months of this easy life the order came for them to be transferred to the Federal prison in St. Louis (not to Alton, as I once thought), and here they were confined in what had been called "Lynch's Nigger Yard"—an old slave market.

Accommodations were poor here and conditions hard. Jesse made his escape and found his way back to their old home in Virginia. Soon afterward his father also made his escape and made his way first to friends in Ohio, and then back to Hardy county, Virginia. So far their career was one of varied interest from the farm and the show ring to the army, and then the battlefield where heroic soldiers bled and died, and then in the improvised hospitals and hospitable homes, followed by imprisonment both lenient and harsh; and now at home again among the friendly mountains familiar to their eyes from youth up; it was picturesque and exciting. But it was tame compared with that which soon followed.

## ORGANIZING ANOTHER COMPANY

An act passed by the Confederate Congress at Richmond provided for the organization of companies to be known as Partisan Rangers to co-operate with the rebel army but be independent in command. Under this act Captain McNeill proceeded at once and quickly organized a company of cavalry known as McNeill's Rangers, the original Rough Riders of the Civil War. Composed of friends, relatives and acquaintances from among the best families in that part of Virginia, well mounted on good horses, with light arms and equipment, gay and gallant youths most of them, familiar with the mountain roads and bypaths, they soon became a terror to the Federal forces in West Virginia. Hardy county was their main rendezvous and operating along the South Branch of the Potomac River and the B. & O. railroad, they captured many wagon trains loaded with supplies and ammunition for the Federal army. Prisoners in large numbers were carried away and sent over the mountains to Richmond where they were exchanged for Confederates held in Federal prisons.



On one occasion, learning that a train of wagons loaded with commissary supplies and ammunition for Federal troops was passing up the valley from New Creek Station guarded by nearly three hundred troops, McNeill rushed down upon them from the mountain side, one troop of his cavalry dashing into them in front and another squad cutting off their retreat in the rear, the very boldness and suddenness of the attack throwing the escort into complete confusion. The whole train was captured and over a hundred prisoners carried away; most of the wagons and supplies were burned and all that could be used hauled back to the Ranger's camp up in the mountains.

On another occasion, when he learned that the town of Piedmont, at the foot of the Allegheny Mountains on the B. & O. railroad, was occupied by Federal troops guarding a train of freight cars and a warehouse, all filled with commissary and quartermaster supplies, McNeill dashed down upon the town from his mountain retreat, burned the warehouse and forty-odd freight cars with many thousands of dollars worth of supplies, and carried off as many prisoners as he could convey up into the mountains, all in such quick time that the Federal garrison, only five miles below at New Creek Station, could not get there in time to stop the fire or recapture the prisoners. The Rangers had finished the job and were well on their way back before the regiment from New Creek appeared on the scene.

At another time, further up the South Branch Valley at the Old Fields about three miles below Moorefield, another wagon train was surprised, the escort put to flight, and then with a score of prisoners the Rangers went leisurely back to the mountain camp.

#### MC NEILL'S LAST CHARGE

Finally in October, 1864, there came a change in the tide of fortune. The Rangers had gone further west in the Allegheny mountains and secured a herd of cattle for General Early's army, and before they could be brought over the mountains and delivered to the Confederate commander,

Early was in retreat further south before the advancing host of Sheridan's army. The cattle were left grazing on the sides of the mountains and McNeill with sixty of his men was undertaking a desperate raid into the Shenandoah Valley, fully believing that Sheridan would be driven back and he would intercept his retreat. By a circuitous route below Orkney Springs on the night of October 2nd the little band crossed the river about a mile above Mt. Jackson, intending to capture and burn the bridge over the river below that point. They soon discovered that this bridge was strongly guarded and there was a Federal camp of a hundred men near by. The break of day was his favorite time for attack, as it was also of that other dashing Confederate cavalry leader General Forrest, operating on a larger scale. But like Forrest also he was eager for the fray and this time, not waiting for the dawn, he dashed headlong and furiously with the rebel yell into this sleeping camp, himself a full length ahead of his troop. The Federal troopers rushed from their tents to their guns and horses and some of them fought desperately while others fled hastily. All was in confusion and in the dark, friend and foe could hardly be distinguished.

#### WOUNDED

All at once a cry was heard: Captain McNeill had fallen from his horse, badly wounded, shot by accident, it is believed, by one of his own men. Like Jackson at Chancellorsville, McNeill at Mt. Jackson fell by a bullet fired by mistake from a friendly hand. His son Jesse called to his side was told to "take command and show yourself a man." And when his father said, "Leave me here, I am too badly wounded to be moved," his reply was, "I will die first," and the same reply came from others who had gathered around the fallen leader. They took him to the home of Rev. Addison Weller, a Methodist minister half a mile away. Here in the side yard he was lifted from his horse, taken into the house and tenderly cared for, while his men filed through the yard with sixty prisoners, many of the men lingering in sympathetic devotion at the side of their suffering chief.

Captain Hugh Ramsy Koontz of the 7th Virginia Cavalry, whose home was near the spot and who was with the Rangers as their guide on that raid, was requested to take command and lead the company out of the valley back to the mountains. This he did with energy and skill, and after they had reached a place of safety for a short rest a council was held and the prisoners were sworn and paroled, scampering back down the mountain like boys let out of school.

But the gallant Koontz met the irony of fate only four days later while leading his own brave boys of Company K in a fierce charge on the Orkney road, where he fell mortally wounded at the head of his column.

Lieutenant Jesse, as soon as he could leave his father, started with Davy Parsons and Payton Tabb after his mother, then at Howard's Lick in Hardy county, fifty miles away. She reached the bedside of the wounded Captain the second day afterward, riding most of the way behind Jesse on horseback, and continued to the end comforting her stricken hero with prayers and tender ministrations such as only a refined Christian woman can render.

#### DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

It was here in the Weller home, enduring severe pain for two long weeks, that the wounded leader received a number of distinguished visitors from the opposing armies that were fighting desperately for possession of the Shenandoah Valley; the tide of battle one day receding and the next advancing again. One day he was visited by General Jubal A. Early and his escort, at that time in possession of that section of the valley, and the old Confederate chief promised him to send an ambulance to carry him further south if his army again had to retreat. Less than a week later the tide of battle had turned; Early was in retreat; Sheridan was in control of the section and for one night made his headquarters in the same house with the wounded Confederate. Inquiring who the wounded soldier was, Mrs. Weller told him that his name was "John Hanson," which was the truth, but not quite the whole truth. The Federal general with his adjutant and his staff surgeon

went into the room and after examining their new prisoner, who admitted he was one of McNeill's Rangers, asked the direct question: "Are you not McNeill himself?" to which the frank answer came at once, "I am." Then the Federal surgeon stepped forward, took him by the hand and said: "Captain McNeill, I thought it was you, but with your beard off I was not sure. I am sorry to see you in this situation. Once last year I was your prisoner, and your treatment of me was so magnanimous, I now hold myself ready to render you any service in my power." The next morning before leaving he brought a good supply of provisions and medicines including a standard brand of good liquor. The next day, however, General Sheridan ordered an ambulance to be sent and McNeill to be carried further down the valley and kept safely in Federal lines. But a few hours before this ambulance arrived, General Early had kept his promise and sent a Confederate ambulance with an escort which carried the stricken leader and his wife further up the valley into Confederate lines at Harrisonburg, Va., where he lingered for some two weeks longer in Hills Hotel where he died November 10th, 1864, in the arms of his family and surrounded by devoted friends. He was buried in the Harrisonburg cemetery with Masonic honors, but two months later his body was removed to Moorefield, Hardy county, where "on the top of Cemetery Hill it is surmounted by a graceful marble shaft, keeping watch over the beautiful valley where he was born and the scene of many of his daring and brilliant exploits,"—as described by Rev. Jefferson W. Duffy, one of the four surviving members of this noted company of Rangers.

After General Sheridan had visited and identified Captain McNeill at the Weller home, he wired the War Department at Washington explaining the attack on his camp at the bridge and loss of prisoners and added how fortunate it was that "Captain McNeill the most dangerous of all the bushwhackers" had been taken mortally wounded and was held in Federal lines.

The Confederate records at Richmond show that during the two years of his activity the number of prisoners captured

by his company was 2,600, or about forty prisoners for each man in active service in the Rangers.

McNeill and Koontz, like Stonewall Jackson and Turner Ashby, and many other commanders on both sides in the Civil War, fell at the head of a charging column, heroically leading an assault upon a gallant foe.

#### THE NEW CAPTAIN

But what became of the Rangers after the death of their loved leader? His son, Lieut. Jesse Cunningham McNeill, succeeded his father as captain and continued to accomplish the most daring feats, one of them in fact, so daring and successful that many have regarded it as the most thrilling single exploit of the whole war. Only two instances will be mentioned. This young man at the time he became captain of the company was not yet twenty-three years of age. But he had seen service with Price's army in the greatest battles fought on Missouri soil, Wilson's Creek, Carthage, Lexington and others, and had two years of thrilling exploits with his father's Rough Riders, and had inherited the old man's courage and love of chivalrous adventure. So it was not hard for him to carry on the brilliant career already started. He was naturally impetuous, but responsibility always sobers men of sense and he at once determined to make good his father's injunction: "Take command and show yourself a man." It was only two weeks after burying his father that his opportunity came, and how well he showed himself the worthy son of a noble sire let the record of results proclaim.

#### OLD FIELDS FIGHT

On November 27th, 1864, Col. R. E. Fleming had been sent out to "Capture, destroy, or otherwise annihilate McNeill." Fleming with 150 Federal cavalry, well equipped and supported by artillery, occupied the Old Fields, a beautiful spot three miles below Moorefield. The young Captain with only fifty men fell upon them with such desperate intent that they were put to rout; he directed a squad of his men to press their rear while he with the remaining fragment of his

force swept across the field by a short cut, intercepted their fleeing column, when a hand-to-hand encounter ensued with sabers and the butts of empty pistols. He captured their artillery, wagon and ambulance, and the number of killed, wounded and captured, left but a fraction of the enemy to escape. That night McNeill camped in Moorefield using the court house for his prisoners. Next morning at daybreak another detachment of Federal troops, not knowing of their colonel's defeat the evening before, dashed into the town. But McNeill rose from his blanket ready for the fray. He drove them back through the streets and captured another batch of prisoners before he ate his breakfast.

Other escapades are passed over in this abbreviated sketch.

#### CLIMAX OF ADVENTURE—THE CUMBERLAND RAID

The young captain had often heard his father talk of a raid which he wanted to make into Cumberland, Maryland, to capture two Federal generals quartered there with 7,000 troops under them—General Benjamin Kelly and General George Crook, both of them major generals and both famous at the time and in after years. The conception of this scheme is said to have dated back two years to a discourtesy shown Mrs. McNeill. She had been refused a passport through General Kelly's lines to go to her husband, though the request was made by a hotel keeper at Oakland, Md., who had befriended Kelly and been promised favors in return. Instead of issuing the passport Kelly had ordered her to be arrested and sent back to Ohio where she had spent some time with friends while on her way from Missouri to Virginia. But with the help of Mr. Daily, the hotel keeper, she eluded her pursuers and made her way to her husband's headquarters at Moorefield in 1862. When Captain McNeill learned of this he said: "General Kelly will regret that, for I will go into Cumberland and kidnap him and carry him off." This has been related by John Cunningham, a nephew of McNeill and one of the most trusted of his company of Rangers. Another story is that this raid was undertaken in order to force the return or exchange

of two of the Rangers who had been captured and kept in close confinement.

Be this as it may, the scheme was often discussed by the leaders of the company and a short time after the old Captain's death, the young Captain undertook to carry it out. One member of his company was John B. Fay, a native of Cumberland, who knew every house and every street and alley of the town. He was commissioned several days in advance to proceed quietly and make a final reconnaissance. He asked for a comrade, young C. Richie Haller, to accompany him, as he, though only a youth, was known to be cautious, courageous, and faithful. These two performed their work so well that every detail was planned in advance. Haller, one of the four members of the company still living, a retired business man of Kansas City, Mo., greatly respected by all who know him, has himself told me the whole story of this daring expedition and it fully corroborates the printed story as told by another of his comrades, Rev. Jefferson W. Duffy of Washington, D. C., who has written the most complete and authentic account that has yet been published. These two "spied out the land," learned just what room each of the two generals occupied, what hours they ate their meals and what time they went to bed, where their horses were kept and all about their habits and regulations. They also arranged for an accomplice in Cumberland to learn whether the two generals retired at their usual hour on the next night and meet them at a certain point some distance out of the town with this final bit of information. All plans completed, McNeill on February 20, 1865, moved his camp from Hardy county down the South Branch into Hampshire county a few miles below Romney. That night, with Fay and Haller as guides, he moved on through snow and ice, passing the friend who gave the report that "all was quiet on the Potomac."

The raiding party consisted of 48 men of McNeill's Rangers and 15 of other Confederate commands, the 7th and 11th Virginia cavalry. McNeill and Sergeant Jos. L. Vandiver rode in front with Fay and Jos. Kuykendall as advance



guard and Lieut. Welton leading the rest of the command a short distance behind.

When less than two miles from town the outer picket line was encountered. Instead of obeying the order to dismount and give the password, they charged the pickets and captured them and forced them to give the password, which was "Bulls Gap". These three pickets were then disarmed, mounted on their horses and carried on with the troop of raiders. At the inner picket line the password passed them, and on they went now at double quick time to the center of the sleeping town where seven thousand soldiers under Generals Crook and Kelly were tucked away under warm blankets oblivious of all that was going on at three o'clock in the morning of February 2, 1865. A detail of two squads was made with Jos. Kuykendall in charge of one and Sergeant Jos. Vandiver the other, to enter the two hotels, Barnum and Revere, where the two generals were quartered, and capture them.

#### THE KIDNAPPING

Kuykendall with John Daily and John Cunningham proceeded at once to the Barnum Hotel and to General Kelly's room on the second floor. They first captured his adjutant, Major Melvin, then with drawn pistols they ordered General Kelly to dress quickly. He asked to whom he was surrendering and Kuykendall replied, "To Captain McNeill, by order of General Rosser." The two officers were quickly mounted on horses waiting at the door with a trooper behind each one, Cunningham holding General Kelly in front of him with one hand and bridle reins and pistol in the other.

At the Revere House a similar scene was being enacted. Vandiver with Jacob Gassman, Sam Tucker and James Daily, son of the proprietor of the hotel, entered the General's room with the announcement: "General Crook, you are my prisoner." "By what authority is this done?" inquired the irate general. "By order of General Rosser of Fitzhugh Lee's Division," was the answer. "Is General Rosser here?" and the answer came with straight face and stern voice: "Yes, sir; I am General Rosser." The surprised general was

quickly mounted in front of Kuykendall and the whole troop moved out of town at double quick time, the two major generals and their adjutant riding double for about two miles before being mounted on separate horses taken from the captured pickets who were turned loose. It was not known that General Rutherford B. Hayes and Major William McKinley had just arrived in Cumberland and were quartered in the same hotels with Crook and Kelly, else two future Presidents might have been added to the captured.

Fay and Haller in the meantime had cut the telegraph wires and another trooper had secured General Kelly's celebrated war horse "Phillippi" and some others.

As they passed the picket line a mile below the town, as the dawn was just breaking, the challenge of the guard was simply answered without stopping, by the password already secured. When asked who they were the answer came promptly: "We are General Crook's Bodyguard."—and Kelly in low voice to Cunningham growled out: "Don't that beat hell!" Knowing that the telegraph wires would be quickly repaired they rode at top speed over mountain roads all day, Kelly suffering and growling and begging them to slow up, while Crook was taking it all good naturedly and winning the smile of good will from his chivalrous captors. For sixty rugged miles this horse race continued over hills and mountains and roads covered with snow and ice and rocks. A pursuing party from Cumberland came in sight two miles below Romney. Here the rear guard was strengthened and held back the pursuers until the main body of the troop with the prisoners were several miles ahead. A few miles below Moorefield another company of cavalry could be seen riding at full speed up the parallel road on the opposite side of the river only a mile away. It was Ringold's cavalry, a part of the 22nd Pennsylvania regiment commanded by Col. Greenfield, coming from New Creek Station (now Keyser) and hot upon the trail of the Rangers.

As they were observed at a distance, McNeill having recourse to a well known expedient took to the woods on a bypath, thus leaving Moorefield more than a mile to the west.

As they glanced back at the long line of blue coat cavalry hastening to the rescue, General Crook quietly exclaimed: "Oh! So near and yet so far." Soon the racing riders with their prisoners crossed the road from Winchester on which Sheridan's cavalry were also approaching Moorefield and on up the river and into the mountains ten miles above the town, beyond which mountains the sun was sinking, as they recalled the words of Wellington at Waterloo, while waiting for his Prussian support to arrive: "Blucher or Night." Darkness soon gave them rest for a few hours and then with fresh horses at daybreak they pressed on toward Harrisonburg, the prisoners being put in charge of Lieut. Welton and Raison C. Davis, who after the war was a noted lawyer and a Federal judge at Louisville, Ky., and was an uncle of the recent presidential candidate, John W. Davis. Both pursuing parties from Winchester and New Creek bivouacked at Moorefield and gave up the chase.

#### EN ROUTE TO RICHMOND

The second day of their journey southward, though not so hasty, being within Confederate lines, was nevertheless irksome to the two major generals; but otherwise uneventful, although it was Washington's birthday, February 22. But that night, as Dr. Duffy relates, an interesting coincidence occurred. While the two generals were sleeping on "the cold, cold ground" in old Virginia, an entertainment was going on in a theater in Cumberland and Miss Mary C. Bruce was singing an old song, "He kissed me when he left,"—and a drunken soldier bawled out, "No! I be d—— if he did; McNeill didn't give him time," whereupon the young lady left the stage. The next morning while breakfasting at Harrisonburg, General Crook, still cheerful, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, this is the most brilliant exploit of the war." Kelly had bemoaned his fate, as the greatest humiliation of his life. If he had been captured by a distinguished Confederate general he could have stood it better, but to be kidnapped and carried off by a bunch of beardless boys was too much. Scarcely one of them was over twenty-five years of age.

From Harrisonburg to Staunton, 25 miles, an old stage coach was pressed into service for the comfort of the prisoners, nearly exhausted by their long, rough ride.

At Staunton they were introduced to Gen. Jubal A. Early, and that night they slept in comfortable beds. Next day on the train to Richmond they met Col. Moseby, the famous Confederate scout, who, on hearing the story of the daring adventure, turned to Lieutenant Welton and said, "This surpasses anything I have ever done; to get even with you boys, I've got to go into Washington and carry Abe Lincoln out."

The next day the prisoners were turned over to the Confederate authorities in Richmond and in due time were exchanged for Confederate generals held in Federal prisons.

As in ancient times and in all times, so in this, war and romance ran together. The war soon closed, and General Kelly returned to Cumberland and married Miss Bruce, and General Crook came back and married Mary Daily, daughter of the hotel keeper at Cumberland and sister of James Daily, one of his captors, and afterward became a famous Indian fighter in the West; while to complete the chapter, Captain McNeill returned and married Miss Sallie Sherrard, at whose home he had spent some days preparing for the Cumberland raid, this lady now being the only one of the party still living, the Captain having died in Illinois in 1912.

#### THE CLOSE OF CAREERS

After Lee's surrender and the collapse of the Confederacy, the Partisan Rangers also came in and laid down their arms on the same terms granted regular Confederate soldiers and became loyal and peaceable citizens, several of them rising to prominence in business and professional life, Judge Raison C. Davis achieving fame as a jurist, and H. Reiman Duvall becoming a millionaire railroad president in New York and president of the American Beet Sugar Company and passing away two years ago at the age of 80; while others of them came to be as conspicuous in peace as in war. At last accounts, five of the McNeill Rangers are still living; Rev. Dr. Jeffer-

son W. Duffy, of Washington, D. C.; Mr. Harlan P. Tabb, of Winchester, Va.; Mr. C. R. Haller of Kansas City, Mo., and Mr. W. H. Maloney and Mr. John S. Linn, both of Cumberland, Md. Their ages now running from 82 to 85.

#### THE END

But perhaps the most pleasing incident in their whole career occurred at their old battle ground at Moorefield nearly thirty years after their daring exploits were over when their old enemies, the Ringold Cavalry of Pennsylvania accepted their invitation to a friendly reunion and the wearers of the blue and the gray fell into each other's arms and spent two happy days recalling their war exploits and paying loving tributes to their departed comrades. A most touching tribute to Captain Hanson McNeill was pronounced at the foot of the monument which marks his grave by the Federal Colonel who had once been his prisoner and was treated with such magnanimity that he had ever since cherished a feeling of love and admiration for his captor and wished that he might call his noble spirit back to earth again.

To the conquered captive he was merciful and kind, and he never harmed a helpless noncombatant, nor carried war into the homes of women and children. "But the armed foe he confronted with all-consuming and relentless purpose. His trusty weapon was a double-barrel shotgun loaded with buckshot, and he coveted short range. His method of warfare was like that of Francis Marion of Revolutionary fame, but in skill of leadership and feat of arms the achievements of McNeill transcend those of the Revolutionary hero," according to Dr. Duffy, his follower and his biographer. But the biography is a very meager sketch and his name is scarcely mentioned in any history of Missouri, although his career started here and several of his company were Missourians. Thus does fate play pranks with some and favorites with others; and the ignominy of a lost cause has often consigned to oblivion the names of heroes greater than history has given to fame.

## TWO ILLUSTRIOUS PIONEERS IN THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN MISSOURI

*Major George C. Sibley and Mary Easton Sibley*

BY LUCINDA DE LEFTWICH TEMPLIN

*George C. Sibley, 1782-1863*

When we recall that the government of the United States is only about one hundred and fifty years old, it is remarkable that these two pioneers in Missouri began their activities in the interest of the education of women a hundred years ago. In 1827, only six years after Missouri was admitted to the Union, they founded Lindenwood College.

George C. Sibley was born "in the town of Great Barrington, Mass., 1, April, 1782, 'at about one o'clock in the morning,' was reared and educated in North Carolina at Fayetteville."<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Dr. John Sibley who had served in the Revolutionary War. Dr. Sibley moved his family to North Carolina and George C. Sibley was reared in that state, and was educated in an academy though little is known of his school days. A letter written to him by his grandfather, May 11, 1797, says in part:

"You will, it is to be feared find some youths in the Academy who are inclined to be unruly and wicked, who speak bad and profane language and are disposed to be idle and perhaps spend their time in loafing and are quarrelsome and mischievous. I advise you to shun them as much as possible, and by no means follow their bad example and resolutely resist their persuasions to join them in their wickedness. Be honest, true, kind and faithful in all your words and actions. Carefully obey the rules of the school given by your instructors, and endeavor to please them by your fidelity, industry, and advances in learning, always showing respect to them, and paying a careful regard to their people, and be a comfort and credit to all your relations and friends."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Taken from a letter written by Major Sibley. Letter is in the possession of Lindenwood College. Papers and documents owned by the College will hereafter be referred to as *Lindenwood Collection*.

<sup>2</sup>*Lindenwood Collection*, No. 48.

The records do not indicate how long the boy remained in the academy but it is known that in 1805, George C. Sibley came to Missouri. In 1807 he was serving as a clerk in the new Indian store (factory) which the United States Government had established at Fort Osage.<sup>3</sup> He went up with the troops when the fort was built and resided there until the factory system was overthrown. Evidently he did not approve of the system as in one of his reports to the government he wrote, "I said 'Indian system'; so it is called; but it is no more like a system than the yells of an Indian are like music."<sup>4</sup>

In 1808, he was made Indian agent and was in charge of the post at Fort Osage. During this period as agent he made some important treaties with the Indians and won their good will. At the same time he was serving as justice of the peace for the township of Bon Homme, in the district of St. Louis. The official notice of his appointment is signed by Meriwether Lewis, governor and commander in chief of the Territory of Louisiana.<sup>5</sup>

George C. Sibley first visited the Salt Plain in 1811. His diary contains an interesting account of the new country and the Indian tribes.<sup>6</sup> The following year the War of 1812 broke out and George C. Sibley was awarded the title of major for his services.<sup>7</sup>

In 1816, William Clark, governor of the Territory of Missouri, appointed Major Sibley to the important office of justice of peace for a district which composed a large part of the State and which was then known as Howard county.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also Sibley Index in Thwaites, *Western Travels*.

<sup>4</sup>*American State Papers*, Vol. VI. (Indian Affairs, Vol. II) p. 362.

<sup>5</sup>Official notice is in the *Missouri Historical Society Library* Vol. II, of the *Sibley Manuscripts*.

<sup>6</sup>The Journal of the trip is in the *Lindenwood College Collection*.

<sup>7</sup>The records of the War Department at Washington do not contain any mention of Major Sibley's war service. A letter from Hanford McNider, acting secretary of war, states that while the name is not in their files that the records are incomplete owing to the fact that many of them were lost in the fire. Since it is stated in some early publications that Major Sibley won his title for active service in the War, the writer accepts the statement as true. See Bryan and Rose, *Pioneer Families in Missouri*, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup>The official notice is in the *Missouri Historical Society Library*, St. Louis.



Many early distinguished travelers, Bradbury, Brackenridge, Nuttall, Featherstonaugh and others were his friends, and they secured much information from him relative to the Indians. He made several reports in regard to Indian affairs which have been published.<sup>9</sup> In one of his letters he says:

"Having brought my business into some system, it has become rather a pleasure than a toil to keep a kind of bachelor's hall, and have my clerk, a clean young gentleman, boarding with me. Our fare is quite simple but good and wholesome; coffee and unbuttered toast for breakfast, and frequently a change of milk and hominy; beef, pork and venison for dinner and a dish of tea; milk and hominy for supper always. We breakfast at nine, dine at two, and sup irregularly, sometimes early and sometimes late. Frequently we are honored with an Osage Chief or war captain to dine and sup with us, and very often are favored with a company of princesses and young ladies of rank, dressed out in all the finery of beads, red ribbon and vermillion, silver ornaments, and scarlet blankets."<sup>10</sup>

In August, 1820, the postmaster-general of the United States appointed Major Sibley, postmaster at Fort Osage.<sup>11</sup>

Another honor came to Major Sibley in 1825. Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, introduced a bill in Congress authorizing President John Quincy Adams to cause a road to be surveyed from the western frontier of Missouri to New Mexico, and to name a commission to treat with the Indians. The bill passed March 3, 1825, President Adams appointed a commission composed of Benjamin H. Reeves, George C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, to negotiate treaties with the chiefs of the various tribes for a right of way through their land.

"Setting out from St. Louis in June, the commission met the chiefs of the Great and Little Osages in a grove of oaks at a place called Council Grove on the Nea-o-Zho River, August 10, 1825, and under an imposing, wide spread oak tree, which is still standing, the white men concluded a treaty with the Osage Indians.

"By this treaty a right of way forever was given through their lands, an agreement the Osages never violated. By

<sup>9</sup>Houck, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup>Lindenwood Collection, No. 17.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* The notice is in the Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis and is signed by J. Meigs, Jun. Postmaster-General of the United States.

permission to make the road through their domain the Indians received \$800.00 in cash and merchandise."<sup>12</sup>

During these years Major Sibley rendered distinguished service to his country and did much to create a friendly feeling between the Indians and the government. In 1828 he resigned from the government service and retired to his home in St. Charles. In the meantime, 1821, Missouri had been admitted to the Union. The Governor and other prominent men realized that the future development of the new State was dependent upon the development of an adequate system of internal improvements. A decade later Governor Boggs, in February, 1839, appointed a board of three directors to "Establish a General System of Internal Improvements in Missouri," and Major Sibley was selected to serve as president of this board. It fell to his lot to serve as commissioner to superintend the disbursements, etc., of the survey of the railroad route to Iron Mountain.<sup>13</sup> The reports and documents show that the work was not only completed with all possible speed, but was efficiently and economically managed.

Since Major Sibley was a staunch Whig, politics absorbed much of his time and interest during the year 1844. He was a delegate to the Hannibal Convention which met to elect the State delegates to the National Convention.<sup>14</sup> He also had the honor of being elected a State delegate to the Whig National Convention which met at Baltimore in May, 1844,<sup>15</sup> and which nominated Henry Clay for president. On arrival at Baltimore, Major Sibley was appointed a member of the committee which nominated the officers of the convention. In his diary he gives a detailed description of the meeting

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.* The notice is signed by J. Q. Adams, president of the United States, and Henry Clay, secretary of state. See article, *The Conquest of the Wilderness*, *Kansas City Star*. (Magazine Section, p. 1.) Aug. 2, 1925.

<sup>13</sup>The journal of expenditures is in the *Lindenwood Collection*.

<sup>14</sup>*Sibley Manuscripts* Vol. II., Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

<sup>15</sup>Major Sibley was representative for the First Electoral District of Missouri. The official notice is signed by H. Peake, Pres. of the Convention, and is in Vol. II of the *Sibley Manuscripts*, in Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. His diary states that one of the passengers on the boat from St. Louis to Baltimore was "a dwarf, 24 years old—37 inches high, of perfect form, called 'General Tom Thumb.'"

and the discussions which took place on the floor of the convention. Major Sibley made the trip east with Major James S. Rollins, later known as the "Father of the University of Missouri." After the close of the convention Major Sibley and Major Rollins went to New York to pay their respects to Mr. Theodore Frelinghysen,<sup>16</sup> who had been named as candidate for the vice-presidency. While in New York the men stayed at the Astor House and Major Sibley made the following comment on that famous hotel:<sup>17</sup>

"The *Astor House* as now kept, is by no means 'what it is cracked up to be.' The buildings, plan and position are all, doubtless very well—and I dare say the establishment suits very well those who regard bustle, show and extravagance—more than comfort—I have never yet been able to find near as much of the latter at any of our very large Hotels, as at those less pretentious—I think '*The Planters' House*' at St. Louis far better than the *Astor House* is now."

On his return to Missouri, Major Sibley became a candidate for the State Senate in 1844. He was defeated by 49 votes and in noting the results of the election he stated, "It is just what I expected and predicted."<sup>18</sup> The reports seem to indicate that Major Sibley announced too late his intention to become a candidate. That his interest in the welfare of his adopted state continued in his advancing age is shown by the fact that he served as a delegate to the National Railroad Convention which met in St. Louis in October, 1849.<sup>19</sup>

Two years later, in 1851, though 69 years of age and in spite of his poor health he accepted the appointment by the governor of Missouri, as a member of the board of managers who were directed "to organize and get in operation a State Lunatic Asylum at Fulton."<sup>20</sup> His diary shows that the trip by stage from St. Charles to Fulton required nearly two days time. As soon as the organization was made Major Sibley resigned from the board as he found that his health would

<sup>16</sup>Mr. Frelinghysen was then Chancellor of New York University.

<sup>17</sup>*Common Place Book*, No. 3, p. 50, in Missouri Historical Society Library.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, No. 6, p. 53.

<sup>20</sup>*Common Place Book*, No. 7, p. 12, in the Lindenwood Collection.

not permit him to make the hard trips necessary to attend the meetings of the board.<sup>21</sup>

The reader of the diaries of Major Sibley cannot fail to be impressed by the kindness of heart of the man. This seems to be a trite statement, but in the rush of life today not many of us take the time to record or even state an appreciation of faithful service. The following two cases are illustrations of a number which appear in Major Sibley's diaries. Common Place Book No. 5: "1, April, 1848. Meyer, a German, who has been working at L. W. for a year past was discharged yesterday, his time being out. He has been a most faithful and efficient hand and Sorry I am to part with him, but he has better prospects & will not consent to stay longer—I settled today and paid him in full."<sup>22</sup>

The second illustration refers to Major Sibley's horse which was a familiar sight on the streets of St. Charles. Common Place Book, No. 5: "12, May, 1847. *My Old Roan Horse Trudge*, died last night. I purchased him at Ft. Osage from Benjamin Lewis, of Ray Co., for ninety dollars cash, on the 11th of July 1827, at which time he was 8 yrs. old the preceeding May—So that Trudge was full 28 yrs. old when he died. In his younger days he was elegant & gay, yet gentle & faithful—faithful he was to the very last—a better Horse I never had, nor Seldom Saw."<sup>23</sup>

From 1851 until the date of his death Major Sibley was a semi-invalid but continued to take an active interest in politics and in the affairs of the College. His death occurred at Lindenwood, January 31, 1863.

#### *Mary Easton Sibley, 1800-1878*

In 1815, while located at Fort Osage, Major Sibley wrote a letter to his brother in Louisiana, saying:

"I am to make a new establishment, build large and comfortable houses and have everything snug and secure about me, and *I flatter myself that there is a certain fair one, whose beauty, amiable disposition, and elegant*

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup>Original book in the Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

*accomplishments would adorn a Palace: who will go with me into the forest and share with me whatever hardships and whatever pleasures are incident to a life of seclusion among the Indians . . . . The connection which I expect to form (matrimonial) will inevitably fix my residence in the Missouri Territory near St. Louis. I am decidedly better pleased with that country and the prospect there than I have ever been, and I think I have made up my mind and fixed my determination to settle myself there."*<sup>24</sup>

The young lady to whom he referred was Mary Easton of St. Louis, a daughter of Rufus Easton. The Eastons were of an old Connecticut family, Joseph Easton having gone to Hartford from England, in 1630. Rufus Easton came to St. Louis in 1803 and was the first postmaster in the settlement. President Jefferson appointed him one of the first United States judges of the territorial court in Missouri. The President also gave him a private commission to execute in watching General Wilkinson and Aaron Burr, who were then under suspicion of treason.<sup>25</sup> Rufus Easton also owned land on the other side of the river, where he laid out the town of Alton, Illinois, and named it after his eldest son.

"The seven daughters of Rufus Easton formed one of the most notable groups of young women during the years when St. Louis was passing through the transitions of village, town and city. The mother of the Easton girls was a New York lady of culture. As they grew up, the girls received the very best educational advantages which could be given them. Their hands were sought in marriage by some of the foremost young men of that generation. One of the sisters married Henry S. Geyer, the lawyer; another, Archibald Gamble, brother of the governor; a third, Major Sibley, with whom she founded Lindenwood College at St. Charles."<sup>26</sup>

Mary Easton was born with the nineteenth century. To complete her education she was sent to the only seminary for women in the West at that time which was Mrs. Tevis' Boarding School for Young Ladies, at Shelbyville, Kentucky.

<sup>24</sup>Lindenwood Collection, No. 1.

<sup>25</sup>Told to the author by Mrs. Mary Sibley Easton Kloes (Milwaukee Wis.), a niece of Mrs. Sibley.

<sup>26</sup>Stevens, *A Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 668.

The only means of getting there was on horseback to Washington, D. C., and then back again.<sup>27</sup> Mary Easton had a splendid mind and was well grounded in Latin and French, and was an accomplished musician. She thought nothing of physical exercise, and often rode all day on horseback, with her party clothes in a bundle behind her, and then danced all night and came back the next day. She traveled over a large portion of the East on horseback with her father, and made several trips to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, in this way.

At fifteen which was then considered a marriageable age, she was married to Major Sibley. In announcing his marriage to his family, Major Sibley wrote, August 20, 1815:

"Several of the Most powerful Indian Nations of the Upper Mississippi threaten a continuance of the hostility toward the United States, and we are informed (I hope truly) that General Jackson is preparing a force to carry on a very active and energetic war in the Indian Country. Altho' the Indians of my agency are peaceable and well disposed, yet I have some doubts as to the expediency of my going among them without a competent military force to protect my establishment from the predatory parties of the hostile tribes that will in all probability, as heretofore, infest the Missouri where I shall be obliged to pass, and that part of the Osage country where I propose to locate myself, that force, I am told cannot be spared me this fall. It seems very probable, therefore, that I shall not move from here until next spring, or if I DO go this fall, it will be merely to make a temporary visit. Either of these arrangements, you will all presently see, will suit my convenience better than if I were to move up this fall.

"For you must know, my dear Father, Brother and Sister, and all others interested, that I was married yesterday evening to Miss Mary Easton, the eldest daughter of Hon. Rufus Easton, of this place. I may confidently ask your congratulations on this event. I have had the singular good fortune to obtain a young lady to be my friend and companion through life who will not deceive my hopes of happiness. Her amiable disposition, mental acquirements and personal accomplishments and most excellent bringing up eminently qualify her for the task she has with pleasure and zeal undertaken to make me happy. Such are the qualifications of my wife . . . Her fortune I know nothing about, I never enquired. However, her Father is reckoned very wealthy.

"I anticipate the question from you all on one breath,—'do you intend to take this charming wife with you among the Indians? And I answer

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<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

you all YES. She has long ago expressed her perfect willingness to live anywhere with me, and until I can withdraw from the Indian service, she will willingly share with me the privations of a forest life. I mean to have a very comfortable establishment and make no doubt we shall pass the time quite happily in the 'howling wilderness.' <sup>18</sup>

When young Sibley went to St. Charles for his bride he required a fleet of keelboats. The bride transported upstream to Fort Clark her saddle horse, library, piano and all the furniture needed in the newly built but unfurnished home. The wedding trip upstream by keelboat took a month's time.

"Her first glimpse of her new home came as she rounded the bend in the river and saw Fort Clark. There on a bluff, overhanging the river was a large grove of trees and high log fence, and from her diary we find 'it was a fine day, crisp and invigorating.' It was about sunset and the soft colors of the evening sky gave an air of romance and enchantment to the scene, but down in the young woman's heart must have been a feeling that it was all very different from the town she had left in St. Louis. She would miss her old friends and she wondered how her new ones at the fort would like her.

"Meanwhile that place was bubbling over with excitement over the coming of the bride.

" 'What do you suppose she will look like?' men asked.

" 'She's considered one of the belles of St. Louis, so she'll surely have elegant clothes,' the women answered. 'There won't be much chance for her to wear them though.'

" 'What in the world will a city girl (St. Louis then had fourteen hundred inhabitants) do out here among the Indians?' inquired the men. 'Bet she won't stay a year.' <sup>19</sup>

Mrs. Sibley was pretty, but that was not all. She had the courage and determination to accomplish things that were characteristic of our pioneer women.

"She won't stick it out a year," was the bet they made before she came, but after she had made herself loved by her many acts of kindness to the people of the fort there was not a person who did not hope she would stay always.

<sup>18</sup>Lindenwood Collection, No. 9.

<sup>19</sup>Taken from an old clipping in the possession of Mrs. Otto Matthews, of Macon, Mo.



"Mrs. Sibley did not spend her honeymoon on a trans-continental railroad train, nor speeding about the country in a high-powered motor-car—but she found happiness just as real in a keelboat ride from St. Louis and in her saddle horse, which had been given her by her husband. There were no Paris gowns of soft-clinging satins and crepes in her trousseau, but Major Sibley mentioned in his diary, 'she had several bright colored dresses of merino and cashimere that were extremely becoming.' Her bungalow was not a bungalow at all because she had a nice new log cabin with as many conveniences as could be accumulated in that day. It even contained a piano with orchestra attachments, the first piano west of the Mississippi River, and the bride spent many happy hours playing for her friends."<sup>30</sup>

In writing to his brother, July 26, 1816, Major Sibley said, "Mary amuses me and herself every day for an hour or two with her piano, on which she performs extremely well, and has latterly undertaken to instruct her younger sister, Louisa, (who lives with us) on that instrument."<sup>31</sup> Thus began Mrs. Sibley's teaching.

"The Sibley home was a model of pioneer taste and elegance. The house was surrounded by the crudities of savage life. The Osage Indians, who had besought the government to establish the post within their reservation, were bound by treaty to maintain their village to wigwams within gunshot of the stockade. Here they were when the bride of the wilderness came with her gallant husband. The Osages had not yet discarded their blanket garb. War parties were habitually coming and going. Successful forays were celebrated with scalp dances and sometimes the soldiers in the post had to display the cannon or use the cat-of-nine-tails. Into this rude life the bride came, courageously facing the privations and loneliness of frontier life.

"But there was the river, the only relief from the sinister aspect of the wilderness. This was the highway over which the most interesting travelers of the age made frequent voy-

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>*Lindenwood Collection*, No. 11.

ages. All distinguished visitors to the West were guests at the Sibley home. A man was kept at the wharf on the lookout for incoming boats and all voyagers were invited up to the Sibley residence, where hospitality was as free as the air.

"We have many a vivid picture of the Sibley home and its picturesque environments in the scores of books printed from the journals of travelers, such as Brackenridge, Bradbury, Prince Maximilian, and even the great Audubon."<sup>33</sup>

"You are always sure of welcome at Sibley's" was the word early travelers passed to each other as they met on the road or in the taverns, which were beginning to be scattered over this section of the country.

"The right-hand man of Gov. William (Red Head) Clark, as Major Sibley had come to be known, already had made himself famous through the part he played in creating Governor Clark's Indian Peace Policy. In consequence he had many friends who would drop in for a visit of a day or two on their way from one fort to another."<sup>33</sup>

Mrs. Sibley was very advanced and in many cases her ideas were a hundred years ahead of her time. She was an early advocate of woman's rights and was a personal friend of Susan B. Anthony.<sup>34</sup> In her dress she showed her love of bright colors. This fondness for color was one of her eccentricities, which continued in later life. Many interesting stories have come down about her and the way she carried through everything she attempted. One student of the early days who knew Mrs. Sibley very well, in writing of her, said:

"Mrs. Sibley was a forceful disposition and had a way of accomplishing the things she wanted to do. She was very fond of driving and had made, according to her own ideas, a carriage. It was not a very large affair, but had a comfortable seat in the back for chance passengers. She drove a white horse, very gentle, so, with a little negro perched up behind, to open gates, she made almost daily trips to town, to get the mail, if for no other business. This vehicle of Mrs. Sibley's was called at Lindenwood, the 'Ship of Zion.' It was in this carriage that she went about visiting and creating a greater interest in her school."

<sup>33</sup>*The Bride of the Wilderness, Kansas City Star, May 25, 1918.*

<sup>34</sup>Matthews, *Op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup>Told to the author by Mrs. Mary Sibley Easton Kloes.

Mrs. Sibley had as interesting a personality as her husband. One reason for the development of Lindenwood College, in spite of the financial difficulties encountered in trying to establish an endowment, was her determination to see the project succeed. When things looked darkest, she packed her bag, went East and raised over \$4,000 among her friends and those of Major Sibley. In commenting upon her character a relative said, "Mrs. Sibley was always a very original, dominant character. She looked to the objective—she never took up any side issues, and what she wanted she got. She went after it and got it, irrespective of everything else. Her methods were her own." She was affectionately called "Aunt Mary" by the girls. That she had a sense of humor, is shown by the fact that she allowed a song about her to be printed and sold at Lindenwood for five cents a copy. It was a parody on Dan Tucker, and was entitled "Clear the Way Aunt Mary's Coming."

I went to town the other night  
 And fell in love with all my might;  
 A gentleman started with me home  
 Aunt thought I was inclined to roam.  
 Chorus

Clear the way Aunt Mary's coming  
 Clear the way Aunt Mary's coming  
 Clear the way Aunt Mary's coming  
 Quick boys, quick, She'll set you running.

As by her side I chanced to walk  
 She put out her hand and grabbed at naught  
 For I passed around and took his arm  
 As if attracted by some charm.  
 Chorus

But still her call she did renew  
 And trembling to her side I flew  
 Said She to me, "Support my age"  
 For she was in the greatest rage.  
 Chorus

As he walked up into the Stile  
Alas! he tried in vain to smile  
For he felt it was a degradation  
To be placed in such a Situation.  
Chorus

As back to town his Steps he Sped  
He vowed by the moon that was over his (head)  
He'd have revenge for what was done  
As sure as he saw the morning Sun.  
Chorus<sup>35</sup>

That Mrs. Sibley had executive ability is shown by the fact that altho Major Sibley was a semi-invalid during the last twenty years of his life, she ran her house and servants and had time to take an active part in local affairs. During the cholera epidemic, which raged in St. Charles in 1849-1850, there were several deaths in town. A number of letters in the *Lindenwood Collection* refer to the splendid work that Mrs. Sibley did with the sick and dying. Later in life she organized "The Sisters of Bethany" which was a Protestant sisterhood, the members of which took vows to help the poor, sick, and those in trouble. Their uniform was a grey gown and grey bonnet, and some of the residents of St. Charles say they can remember Mrs. Sibley in her old carriage going around to help those who were unfortunate. The record book of the Society shows that in 1868 the Sisters made 2,000 visits and assisted 533 families. The same year they distributed a total of 87,884 pages of tracts, Sunday school lessons, and Bibles.<sup>36</sup>

After her husband's death, she became an ardent Second Adventist and her religion became her chief interest. She believed she would not die—she thought she would be translated. All her life she had been intensely interested in foreign missions, and when she was seventy-one years old, she concluded it was her duty to go to Japan as a missionary. She

<sup>35</sup>This parody was probably written by Mr. Ben Emmons whose son Mr. Ben L. Emmons found it in his papers, and part of it was in his own handwriting.

<sup>36</sup>*Record Book, Sisters of Bethany*, p. 78, *Lindenwood Collection*.

went to New York and sailed from there via Panama, to California. She had a very rough voyage and when she got to California, she concluded that her hearing was too bad, so she came home. The trip from New York to California must have changed her mind. This is the only incident which is known of, where she failed to accomplish the thing she set out to do.

Mrs. Sibley's appreciation of the ridiculous is apparent in the following item which appeared in a letter written by her to Rusella Easton. She said, "Judge Tucker has been as gay as a young man of 15 dancing at weddings and parties. Mr. Leonard lives in New Franklin; got turned over with his wife in a sleigh and hollered out for God's sake not to kill his wife for it was too hard to get another, he could never get any one else to have him."

Mrs. Sibley's death occurred at Lindenwood, in 1878.

#### THE ORIGIN OF LINDENWOOD COLLEGE AS A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Lindenwood College was founded by Major and Mrs. George C. Sibley, and is said to be the oldest Protestant college in the Louisiana Purchase.<sup>37</sup>

While serving as Indian Agent at St. Charles in 1814, Major Sibley bought for \$150.00 a tract of 120 arpens of land.<sup>38</sup> The deed to this lease goes back to the lease made in 1792 by Louis Blanchette, the discoverer and founder of St. Charles. This lease is the oldest existing document which relates to St. Charles. The original is in Old French.<sup>39</sup> Under the old Spanish law of location each settler was entitled to one town lot, 40 arpens<sup>40</sup> for cultivation, 49 arpens of timber land, and the common use of land reserved for

<sup>37</sup>Stevens, *A Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup>Lindenwood Collection, No. 17.

<sup>39</sup>The writer is indebted to Mr. Benjamin Emmons for a copy (translation) of this lease. Mr. Emmons is in the abstract business in St. Charles, and writes "this is the best written and composed of all archives which have passed through my hands."

<sup>40</sup>An "arpen" was an old land measure and was a little less than an acre.

pasturage, etc. The tract on which the college is now located is part of the concession allotted to Louis Blanchette.<sup>41</sup>

Some early publications state that Major Sibley acquired his land by loaning a sum of money to a man, and taking as security a mortgage on the land. It is also said that the man was later unable to repay the loan and deeded the property to Major Sibley.<sup>42</sup> This may be a true statement as we have a record of the purchase of this 150 arpens of land by Major Sibley, and we know that a few years later he was the owner of 640 acres at St. Charles. In his diary (*Common Place Book*, No. 1), he itemizes his tax list for 1823 and shows that he paid taxes on the following properties:<sup>43</sup>

640 acres of land.....	\$1,280.00
5 slaves, Abram, Betty, Henry, Edw., Geo., 3 boys.	1,500.00
2 mares.....	220.00
30 head of cattle.....	278.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,278.00

Since there is no statement made as to how he acquired the additional land (520 acres), it is possible that he obtained this in payment of his loan.

We have seen that in 1815, Major Sibley was married to Mary Smith Easton. The letters and diaries of Major Sibley tell us of their mutual interest in the education of women and especially of Mrs. Sibley's desire to found a school. Living in a sparsely settled territory where there were no means of education for women, it was natural that they should be ambitious to start a school. In the beginning, Major and Mrs. Sibley had no definite plans for a woman's college, as we know one today. As the years went by their ideas crystalized and the plan grew.

It has been shown that in 1816, Mrs. Sibley began her teaching by instructing her younger sister who was living with her. After going to Fort Osage, Mrs. Sibley soon began to

<sup>41</sup>Letter from Benjamin Emmons to the author.

<sup>42</sup>*History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties*, p. 315.

<sup>43</sup>In the collection of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

teach the Indian girls who became her warm friends. Technically, 1816 might be accepted as the date for the founding of Lindenwood College. Some educational institutions would probably trace their origin back to the acquisition of the land (1814), as the official date of the founding. Since it is impossible to prove that at the time of the purchase of the land, Major Sibley intended to found a school, this early date is discarded by Lindenwood College. From the relatives of Mrs. Sibley we know that, since she was the eldest daughter in a large family, she undertook the education of her younger sisters. From time to time, she had her sisters living with her while she taught them music, French, etc. As time went on friends asked to send their daughters to join Mrs. Sibley's classes, and we know that in 1827, her two younger sisters were living with her and being educated by her. Evidently others had joined her classes, as a letter dated October 27, 1827, in the possession of the college states:

"... Since you left us 4 children have been added to the school the one already named, 2 of the grandchildren of Sam Ora, . . . one a girl the other a boy . . ."<sup>44</sup>

Attention is called to the fact that during the past years the publications of the college give various dates for the origin. The one most commonly used is 1828. The writer has made an exhaustive search for material and has interviewed a large number of the relatives, early settlers in St. Charles, etc., and this study indicates that the college is really justified in using the date 1816. However, since there is no doubt about the fact that in 1827 there were more than four pupils studying with Mrs. Sibley, this date has been accepted as the official date of the organization of the college.

One writer says that Mrs. Sibley "possessed an ample fortune of her own, and her husband became wealthy."<sup>45</sup> In

<sup>44</sup>*Lindenwood Collection*, No. 24. During the early history of Missouri and until after the Civil War it was customary for young boys to be sent to the academies for girls. This was probably due to the customary belief that the public schools in the State were only for the children whose parents could not afford to send them to private educational institutions. This is another indication of the Southern influence in Missouri.

<sup>45</sup>*Bride of the Wilderness*, in *Kansas City Star*, May 25, 1918.



1827 the government established Cantonment Leavenworth which superseded Fort Osage.<sup>46</sup>

On leaving Fort Osage, Major and Mrs. Sibley moved to St. Charles and lived there in their own home or with her father, Rufus Easton, who owned a farm in the county, several lots, and a house in St. Charles. Rufus Easton had been one of the wealthy men in St. Louis but suffered heavy financial losses and retired to St. Charles, where he was living when he died in 1834. The exact date of his move to St. Charles is not known, but the county records show that his personal property consisting of household goods and furniture on his farm was sold to William Russell.<sup>47</sup> In any event, it is clear that Major and Mrs. Sibley did not move to the present site of the college until 1829. A letter from Mrs. Sibley, written November 25, 1829, from St. Charles, says, "This cold weather has played the mischief with our preparations for moving. It will now be Christmas before we get out to Linden Wood."<sup>48</sup>

Evidently Mrs. Sibley was conducting her school as a private enterprise in her home in St. Charles until she was able to move to her log house at Linden Wood.

The use of the term "school" in the above letter seems to indicate that Mrs. Sibley had already formulated her plan for a definite organization in St. Charles. This was a hazardous undertaking just six years after the admission of Missouri to the Union.<sup>49</sup> Yet she and Major Sibley undertook the work with much zest and laid their plans on such a sound basis that their school not only continued to live but became the first four-year standard college for women in Missouri.

While the records make no specific mention at this time of Major Sibley's co-operation in the organization, the writer is convinced that it was really a joint undertaking of both Major and Mrs. Sibley. This is clearly indicated by the letters and other papers of Major Sibley. Another element which

<sup>46</sup>Thwaite's *Western Travels*, Vol. 14, p. 168.

<sup>47</sup>Copy of the records were furnished by Mr. Ben Emmons of St. Charles.

<sup>48</sup>Letter owned by Mrs. R. S. Battersby of Columbia, Mo.

<sup>49</sup>Missouri was the first state west of the Mississippi river to be admitted to the Union.

makes the project seem almost heroic is that at this time Major Sibley was not a man of great wealth. In fact in 1829 he was hard pressed for cash. This is shown by the St. Charles county records which state that he borrowed \$523.00 and gave a mortgage on the following:

"One negro woman slave named Betty aged about 35 yrs., one negro man slave named Edward, the son of sd. Betty aged about 17 years, one other slave named George (also son of Betty) aged about 15 yrs., and also one plain cherry side board, one cherry dining table, one cherry breakfast table, one cherry wagon work table, one Mahogany side board, one Mahogany Secretary and Bureau, one cherry Bureau, one Pine clothes Press, one Pine paper case, one of "Seth Thomas" clock, the front ornamented with emblems of Masonry, one cherry high post bedstead with cornice, one field bedstead made of sugar-tree or maple, three feather beds, one hair mattress, with all the clothes and furniture belonging to said bedsteads, beds and mattress, also twelve common green chairs, ten yellow winsor chairs, one yellow settee, two domestic carpets, and also one dozen silver table spoons, one dozen silver dessert spoons, one dozen silver tea spoons, onesilver soup ladle, six silver tumblers and one silver sugar tongs, all marked 'Sibley,' and stamped A. C. Burnett, and also one complete set of blue china ware 175 pieces, consisting of Dinner, and Breakfast & tea sets, one set of pensiled french china ware, one set of Brittannia ware in 5 pieces, two dozen glass tumblers and wine glasses, six decanters, one candle shade, & a pair of plated candlesticks."<sup>50</sup>

The above mentioned slaves were included in two former mortgages; one given May 16, and one August 4, 1829.<sup>51</sup> These mortgages show that Major Sibley was at least temporarily embarrassed financially. While this shows that Major Sibley was in financial difficulties, he soon retrieved his fortunes and was able to live in comfort until the time of his death.<sup>52</sup> Otherwise, he would not have given in 1853 his entire property to the College.

The material for these early years is very meagre and we have to rely for information on the letters, diaries and papers of Major Sibley, as the early records of the school were not preserved.

<sup>50</sup>*Records of the County Recorder's Office, St. Charles, Book "H," p. 401. The above list was furnished the writer by Mr. Benjamin Emmons.*

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.* The mortgage was given in May to Thomas Biddle, and the one in August, to Tracy & Wahrendorf.

<sup>52</sup>*Easton, The Descendants of Joseph Easton, p. 85.*

## A STUDY IN MISSOURI POLITICS, 1840-1870

BY RAYMOND D. THOMAS

## SECOND ARTICLE

## CHAPTER II

## MISSOURI FOR THE UNION

The events immediately following the election of 1860—alarming as indeed they were to all who had fears for the perpetuity of the Union—were particularly portentous for Missouri. Lincoln's election pleased Missouri not much more than it pleased South Carolina or Alabama. One by one Missouri saw here sister states of the South sever their relations with the general government. Associations growing out of common social customs made for a mutuality of interest between all of the slave-holding states. Moreover, Missouri was bound to the South by ties of kinship. Of Missouri's 1,067,081 free population in 1860, 906,540 were born in the United States—distributed thus: Missouri, 475,246; Kentucky, 99,814; Tennessee, 73,594; Virginia, 53,957; Ohio, 35,389; Illinois, 30,138; Indiana, 30,463, with the remainder in the various other states.<sup>1</sup> What Missouri's ultimate decision would be was of vital significance for both the North and the South.

The twenty-first General Assembly met on December 31, 1860. South Carolina had already passed an ordinance of secession. Before another month passed four other states, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, had followed the example set by South Carolina.<sup>2</sup> Strong pressure was brought to bear in Missouri to win the legislature for the secession program. The number of Breckenridge Democrats in the legislature was entirely out of proportion to the secession vote in November, 1860. It is doubtful that this would have been the case, however, had the state election come in November

<sup>1</sup>Census, 1860 (Pop. vol.), p. 301.

<sup>2</sup>Switzler, *Missouri*, p. 303.

instead of August. In the Senate of 33 members, 15 were Breckenridge Democrats, 10 Douglas Democrats, 7 Bell-Everett, and 1 Republican. In the House of 132 members, 47 were Breckenridge Democrats, 36 Douglas Democrats, 37 Bell-Everett, and 12 Republicans.<sup>3</sup> The General Assembly proceeded prayerfully. On January 1, 1861, the House resolved that on Friday, January 4, in accordance with President Buchanan's proclamation designating that day as a "day of National Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer, in view of the impending crisis," two sermons should be delivered in the Hall of the House "suitable to the occasion set forth in the President's Proclamation."<sup>4</sup> Caution was the watchword among those who best knew the intensity of feeling throughout the state. The legislature, notwithstanding its pro-secession sympathies, certainly was not unmindful of the conservative verdict of the people as expressed in the previous November election.

The twenty-first General Assembly heard two addresses, significant from the point of view of this study. On January 3, the retiring Governor, R. M. Stewart, unquestionably voiced the weight of public opinion in the state in a plea for moderation in any attempt to define Missouri's future relations with the Union. "Missouri occupies a position," Governor Stewart pointed out, "that should make her voice potent in the councils of the nation. With scarcely a disunionist, *per se*, to be found in her borders, she is still determined to demand and maintain her rights at every hazard." Governor Stewart was convinced that Missouri loved the Union "whilst it is the protector of equal rights." That Missouri had a right to be heard on the subject of slavery and disunion, he emphasized, could not be denied when she was bounded on three sides by free territory, when her border counties had been the scenes of violence, when she had "probably lost as much in the last few years in the abdication of slaves, as all the Southern States." Missouri, the retiring governor as-

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup>House of Rep., *Journal of—Twenty-first General Assembly of Missouri, 1860-61*, pp. 6-7.

sured the legislature, would remain in the Union so long as that Union was worth preserving, but he failed to prescribe a test which would determine just when the Union would be no longer worthy of survival. He went on to argue that a "disruption of our present relations, the organization of an independent government, even without the natural consequences of civil war, [would] . . . bring great and almost insupportable burdens upon the people," involving ruin for planters, merchants, and mechanics—"Missouri to surrender her prosperity" in exchange for the mad chimera of secession, to be followed by revolution, battle and blood? Never!"<sup>5</sup>

The incoming Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, delivered his inaugural address on the same day. He was not explicit; his remarks concerning the state of the Union are susceptible of conflicting interpretations. "The destiny of the Slaveholding states of this Union," he said, "is one and the same thing. . . . The identity, rather than the similarity of their domestic institutions—their political principles and party usages—their common origin, pursuits, tastes, manners, and customs . . . all contribute to bind together . . . the states of the South and South-West. Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position on the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her *to stand by the South.*" The weight of Missouri or Kentucky, if thrown into the scale with the non-slaveholding states, would increase the preponderance of the North, and thus drive "the South to an adherence to a separate Southern Confederacy." Governor Jackson, however, took occasion to declare that, "So far as Missouri is concerned, I do not fear to misrepresent the sentiments of her citizens by saying that they have ever been devoted to the Union, and will remain in it, as long as there is any hope of its maintaining the spirit and guarantees of the Constitution."<sup>6</sup>

Governor Jackson's address, no doubt, was artfully planned to cover up what he then considered it unwise to

<sup>5</sup>Gov. R. M. Stewart, *Address of. House Journal*, 1860-61, pp. 18-43.

<sup>6</sup>Gov. C. F. Jackson, *Address of. House Journal*, 1860-61, pp. 45-53.

divulge; namely, his intention, in case of a civil war, to lead Missouri into the Southern Confederacy. There is little evidence to show that Jackson made his designs known to a very large number, even of his closest friends. That the Governor was designing to take definite action when the right time arrived is seen in a confidential letter, dated January 24, 1861, from General D. M. Frost, of the Missouri State Militia. Frost informed Jackson that he had been assured by Bell, (then in command of the United States Arsenal at St. Louis,) that whenever the time came Missouri would have "*a right to claim it [the arsenal] as being upon her soil.*" Major Bell, according to General Frost's letter, "would not attempt any defense against the proper state authorities."<sup>7</sup> But secret correspondence between Governor Jackson and his proteges in no wise convicts the people of Missouri of disloyalty to the Union.

Missouri during the winter of 1860-61 was passing through a supreme testing time. Public opinion was crystallizing about the three standards—conservative, radical Northern, and radical Southern. It is not surprising that St. Louis was a flagless city, save on the United States arsenal and on one dry goods store.<sup>8</sup> Frank Blair was giving his German "Black Jagers" regular and practical drill in rifle-shooting. The "Minute Men," a body of conservative Democrats in St. Louis, were likewise recruiting and drilling men—for what army, no one then was certain.<sup>9</sup> On January 11, 1861, a Republican meeting was held in Washington Hall in St. Louis, at which time it was agreed to disband the Wide Awakes—a Republican club—and organize a Central Union Club, to which any friend of the Union might belong.<sup>10</sup> The radical Unionists and the Democrats of St. Louis appointed January 12, 1861, as a date for a general meeting "to declare the sentiments of St. Louis on the great issues before the country."

<sup>7</sup>Gen. D. M. Frost's letter to Gov. Jackson—dated Jan. 24, 1861. Given in full in Switzler, *Missouri*, pp. 355-356.

<sup>8</sup>Galusha Anderson, *The Story of a Border City in the Civil War* (Boston, 1908), p. 23.

<sup>9</sup>Scharf, *St. Louis*, 1, p. 483.

<sup>10</sup>Chas. M. Harvey, "Missouri from 1840 to 1861," in *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, p. 35.

On the day of the meeting it was reported to Blair that the meeting would take "narrower ground in support of the Union of the States than that which the Republicans of this city have already maintained." He immediately had posters scattered warning all Republicans against participation in the meeting. The meeting was held as scheduled; Hamilton R. Gamble and Uriel Wright delivered addresses, after which three times three cheers were given for John J. Crittenden—but for the Union only three cheers.<sup>11</sup>

Alarm and excitement were not confined to St. Louis. Meetings were held throughout the state. The question, "What should Missouri do?" was on everybody's lips. Men were arguing against disunion on the ground of expediency. Indeed, it appears clear as we search the deepest feelings as expressed throughout the state that expediency was not the least consideration in giving pause to Missouri's natural inclinations toward the position of her Southern neighbors. We have noted how Governor Stewart's address before the legislature emphasized the inexpediency of precipitant action. Judge Wm. A. Hall, in an address at Huntsville, December 24, 1860, argued along the same lines: that Missouri's position differed from that of the cotton states, since she was surrounded on three sides by free territory, making it impossible to withstand attacks from the North. In case Missouri should leave the Union, Judge Hall pointed out, the fugitive slave law would no longer have force within the state. "Our feelings," he concluded, "our sympathies, would strongly incline us to go with the extreme Southern States if separation takes place. But passion and feeling are temporary; interest is paramount. . . ."<sup>12</sup> Judge Hall's was a typical conserva-

<sup>11</sup>Scharf, *St. Louis*, I, 391-393.

<sup>12</sup>Judge Wm. A. Hall, Democrat, *Address of—Delivered at Huntsville Mo., December 24, 1860. Mo. Republican*, Jan. 25, 1861.

Early in 1861, Judge James H. Birch, Democrat, speaking in behalf of a settlement in terms of the Crittenden compromise, presented the typical conservative point of view thus. " . . . I repeat, that I am 'a Union man,' and that, altho Southern—to the manor born and to the manor bred—a native of Virginia, educated to manhood in Kentucky, and having worn out that manhood in Missouri, neither my education nor my observation has been such as to cause me to abandon my reliance upon the ultimate justice of any portion of my countrymen, North or South." W. V. N. Bay, *Bench and Bar of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1878), p. 439.



tive argument advanced up and down the state through the press and on the stump during the critical days of the winter of 1860-61.

Meantime the General Assembly had taken a definite step toward determining Missouri's relations with the Union. These relations were to be determined by a convention of the people to meet on February 28, 1861, delegates to which were to be elected February 18. The Act calling the convention represented the first and essentially permanent defeat of the extreme wings of the radical group in the legislature—both the secessionists and the radical Unionists. Section ten of the Act provided that no action of the convention which changed the political relations of the State to the United States or any other state would be valid until a majority of the qualified voters of the state voting on the question should ratify such action.

This was a signal defeat of the radical secessionists. The Committee on Federal Relations of the House, George G. Vest, radical pro-slavery leader, chairman, reported a bill which placed no restrictions on the powers of the convention. The conservatives, however, amended the bill with the restrictions mentioned above. John D. Stevenson, Republican of St. Louis, moved a substitute for the entire Act in a resolution, proposing a national convention to amend the Federal Constitution. Which was promptly defeated by a vote of 105 to 12. The amended Act was passed by a substantial majority and was signed by Governor Jackson, January 21.<sup>18</sup> It is significant that as the cotton states were formally severing their relations with the Union the Missouri legislature had provided for a convention of the people—a convention with positive restrictions against hasty action looking toward secession.

The canvass for the election of delegates to the convention was spirited, and the issues called out rival political leaders. Here again appear the three distinct political groups. One group may be called the secessionists, led by United States Senators James S. Green and Trusten Polk,

<sup>18</sup>Switaler, *Hist. of Missouri*, pp. 306-309.

Governor Jackson, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, and David R. Atchison—supported by the Jefferson City *Examiner* and the St. Louis *Bulletin*. That group which we have alluded to as conservative in this campaign took a position against coercing the South, but strongly maintaining that Missouri's relations with the Union should remain unaltered. Chief among the conservative leaders in this campaign were: Hamilton R. Gamble, A. W. Doniphan, James S. Rollins, William A. Hall, John S. Phelps, Ex-Governor Stewart, and Sterling Price—supported, of course, by the Missouri *Republican* and the Columbia *Statesman*. The radical Union-at-any-price people rallied around such leaders as Frank Blair, Edward Bates, Gratz Brown, and O. D. Filley—and the Missouri *Democrat*.<sup>14</sup> The victory was overwhelming for the conservatives. Missouri vetoed secession by 80,000 votes.<sup>15</sup> Nearly all of the delegates elected were pro-slavery men, but not one had openly declared himself an avowed secessionist. The nativity of the 104 delegates was distributed as follows: Kentucky, 30; Virginia, 24; Missouri, 14; Tennessee 10 Maryland 3, North Carolina 3, New York 3, New Hampshire 3, Ohio 2, Illinois 2, Pennsylvania 2, Austria 1, Ireland 1, Germany 2, other states 4.<sup>16</sup>

The Convention assembled in Jefferson City on February 28, clothed with authority to "take such action as the interest and welfare of the state may require." It is singular that James O. Broadhead, old line Whig and conservative, nominated for president of the Convention Sterling Price, who afterward became a Confederate major-general. Nathaniel Watkins, former Whig was nominated to oppose Price; Price was elected by a vote of 75 to 15.<sup>17</sup> With the preliminaries of organization over, the Convention adjourned to meet in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis, March 4. Why the Convention moved to St. Louis has been a disputed question among writers on the period. It may have been due to

<sup>14</sup>Thomas L. Sneed, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York, 1886), pp. 53-65; Lucien Carr, *Missouri a Bone of Contention* (New York, 1888), pp. 282-83.

<sup>15</sup>Sneed, *Missouri*, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup>Missouri State Convention, *Journals of*—February, 1861, pp. 5-7.

<sup>17</sup>Convention, *Journal*—Feb. 1861, p. 14.

the popularity in Jefferson City of "Dixie" and the "Marseillaise," or—much more plausibly—it may have been due to the poor accommodations afforded in the state capital. The General Assembly was in session; suitable hotel facilities were not to be had, and no hall was available adequate to the needs of the Convention.<sup>18</sup>

On March 4 the Convention gathered in St. Louis. It passed immediately to the consideration of the relations existing "between the Government of the United States, the Government and people of the different states, and the Government and people" of Missouri. A committee on Federal relations was appointed. On March 9, this committee returned a report setting forth: first, that "at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union," but that she would labor for an adjustment of existing troubles that would secure the peace and rights of all the states; secondly, that the people of Missouri were "*devotedly attached to the institutions of our country*" and that they desired an amicable settlement in order that the Union might be preserved; thirdly, that Missouri deemed "the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Hon. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky" a basis of adjustment that would "successfully remove the causes of differences *forever* from the arena of national politics;" fourthly, that the state legislatures ought to take proper steps for calling a national convention to amend the Federal Constitution; fifthly, that the "employment of military force by the Federal Government to coerce the submission of the seceding states, or the employment of military force by the seceding states to assail the Government of the United States, will inevitably plunge this country into civil war, and thereby entirely extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country. . . ." <sup>19</sup> (Italics mine.)

Here again was occasion for a test of the political alignment of Missouri's representative leaders. The foregoing

<sup>18</sup>Anderson, *Border City*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>19</sup>Mo. State Convention, *Journal*—Feb. 1861, pp. 36-37.

resolutions, it will be observed, in no sense expressed the sentiments of either wing of the radicals. On March 19, the first resolution was adopted by a vote of 89 to 1, and the second by 90 to 0. When the third resolution was brought up for consideration, Mr. Bast, delegate from Montgomery county, offered the following to be added to the resolution as reported: "And in event of a refusal by the Northern States . . . to agree and consent to such an adjustment or settlement of the slavery question, and our sister States, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas, determine to change the relation they now hold to the General Government, the State of Missouri will not hesitate to take a firm and decided stand in favor of her sister slave states of the South." Which was rejected by a vote of 70 to 23—a definite test of the strength of the most conservative secessionists in the Convention. On March 20, the third resolution was adopted as reported from the committee by a vote of 90 to 4. The fourth, simplified in language, was adopted 85 to 9. To the fifth was added an amendment recommending caution in moving Federal troops into or toward the South—the resolution was then passed 89 to 6.<sup>20</sup>

The Convention was in session in St. Louis on the day of President Lincoln's inauguration. The following resolution was considered on March 8: "Resolved, that the inaugural address of President Lincoln is a message of peace and not of war." Even so indirect an expression of loyalty to the President seemed too radical for the Convention, and the resolution was tabled by a vote of 52 to 37. The next day, however, the Convention went on record to the effect that the rejection of the resolution relative to Lincoln's address should not "be considered as any test whatever of the sense of this Convention relative to the sentiment enunciated in said resolution." The delegates desired that the vote of the previous day should not be construed as a test of Missouri's loyalty to the Union.<sup>21</sup> The Convention adjourned on March 22, sub-

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<sup>20</sup>Mo. State Convention, *Journal*—Feb. 1861, pp. 46-79.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

ject to call of a special committee made up of one member representing each of the congressional districts in the state.

This emergency Convention had been true to the mandate of its constituents. Missouri should not leave the Union, nor should she favor an aggressive policy of coercing the Southern states. Such a position, of course, was unsatisfactory to the secessionists, who fancied that the radical Unionists had counseled the entire program. George G. Vest defied the Convention, declaring that its decision did not represent public opinion in the state—that the delegates were “political cheats, jugglers, and charlatans, who foisted themselves upon the people by ditties and music and striped flags.”<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the radical Unionists denounced the Convention, charging that it was secretly laying plans for ultimate secession and rebellion. While the Convention was legislating to save Missouri for the Union, the General Assembly had elected a secessionist to the United States Senate—Waldo P. Johnson, who succeeded James S. Green. Johnson was elected on the fifteenth ballot, and it is noteworthy that he was generally recognized as being a less radical secessionist than Senator Green, who was himself a candidate for re-election.<sup>23</sup>

The Fort Sumter episode precipitated the final and supreme test of Missouri's loyalty. To President Lincoln's call for volunteers Governor Jackson responded with a defiant refusal that “Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.” Even before Governor Jackson's reply to the President's request for troops the *Missouri Republican* had assured its readers that, “We need not wait for the answer of the Governor of Missouri to this demand upon the State for her quota of troops. The people are ready to respond now, that they will not contribute one regiment, nor one company for any such purpose. They will not make war on the South, nor aid in the attempt to retake

<sup>22</sup>George G. Vest, *Address in Mo. Gen. Assembly, March 27, 1861*—quoted in Sneed, *Missouri*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>23</sup>Switzler, *Missouri*, p. 312.

Fort Sumter, or any other fort in the possession of any one of the States which have asserted their independence."<sup>24</sup>

Governor Jackson was in close touch with the Confederate government at Montgomery. On April 26, 1861, L. P. Walker, Confederate secretary of war, wrote Jackson, inquiring if Missouri could equip a regiment of infantrymen for a rendezvous at Richmond. Governor Jackson replied on May 6, that Missouri was not prepared to equip men for field service, but that the state could and would put 100,000 men in the field in defense of the South.<sup>25</sup> The General Assembly was called into special session on May 2, to "place the State, at the earliest practical moment, in a complete state of defense." The Governor's message to this extraordinary session closed with an appeal "*to the whole people of the State, to whom we are responsible*, to do nothing imprudently or precipitantly."<sup>26</sup> (*Italics mine.*) Splendid advice,—but we may well surmise, very difficult for Governor Jackson to give.

The maneuvers of Governor Jackson alarmed the radical Unionists; the time for prompt military action had come. The seizure of Camp Jackson by Captain Lyon may be defended from the point of view of military expediency. Politically, it was a mistake. Instead of saving Missouri for the Union this rather impulsive action of the radical Unionists came near driving the state into the Confederate fold. And this does not mean that Governor Jackson himself and other radical secessionists had not disclosed both secret and open designs to train troops at Camp Jackson to be employed in foiling any attempt of the Union army to establish headquarters in St. Louis. The people throughout the state, generally, looked upon the establishment of Camp Jackson as a legitimate and perhaps timely function of the state. The mistake is made, however, in considering the opinions and actions of Governor Jackson and the secessionists as representative of the majority in the state. Plenty of secessionists

<sup>24</sup>Mo. *Republican*, April 16, 1861—Quoted in Snead, *Missouri*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>25</sup>For correspondence between Gov. Jackson and Secretary Walker, see Scharf, *St. Louis*, I, pp. 490-491.

<sup>26</sup>Gov. Jackson's *Message to the legislature in Journal of the House of Representatives*—called session, 21st G. A., p. 15.

there were, but the preponderance of conservatives was sufficient to counteract the effectiveness of secession influence.

Camp Jackson was seized by Union forces on May 10. Charles D. Drake, afterwards to become the bitterest of Radical leaders, condemned the event as "an infamous proceeding."<sup>37</sup> The unhappy element of the entire affair lay in the distorted and exaggerated reports which spread wild throughout the state. On May 11, the *Missouri Republican*, commenting on the rioting incident to the event, gave a stirring picture of the happenings, thus: that " . . . Most of the people exposed to the fire of the soldiers, were citizens with their wives and children, who were merely spectators, and who took no part in any demonstration whatever. . . . As night closed in and hid the ghastly horrors of the scene, a German regiment took possession of the blood-stained camp and the tents of the State soldiers. By citizens of St. Louis, and especially those who have lost friends by the occurrence of yesterday, the events will not be easily forgotten." That St. Louisians did resent the action of Lyon's troops is evident in the state of feeling in the city on the night of May 10. We may give the *Republican* credit for gross exaggeration and still have plenty of evidence to show the spirit of resentment. The issue of May 11, commented: "It is almost impossible to describe the intense exhibition of feeling which was manifested last evening in the city. . . . There was little congregating on the street corners. . . . Thousands upon thousands of restless human beings could be seen from almost any point on Fourth Street all in search of the latest news. Imprecations, loud and long, were hurled into the darkening air, and the most unanimous resentment was expressed on all sides at the manner of firing into the harmless crowds near Camp Jackson. Hon. J. R. Barret, Major Uriel Wright and other speakers addressed a large and intensely excited crowd in front of the Planters' House . . . Crowds of men rushed through the principal thoroughfares, bearing banners and devices suited to their several fancies

<sup>37</sup>Frank Blair, *Address of*—Rolla, Missouri, Oct. 18, 1865, in *Mo. Republican*, Oct. 21, 1865.



. . . . Some were armed and others were not armed, and all seemed anxious to be at work. . . . Squads of armed policemen were stationed at several of the most public corners, and the offices of the *Missouri Democrat* and *Anzeiger des Westens* were placed under guard for protection."

Such exciting news and, we may be certain, plenty of other exaggerated rumors, created profound resentment everywhere in the state, particularly among lukewarm secessionists. Most of Lyon's troops were of German lineage.<sup>28</sup> Missourians had not held the Germans in very high esteem since the election of 1860; now the "Hessians," a name in itself suggestive of unpleasant associations, were making war upon women and children—all in the name of the flag,—so it was reported. Confederate recruiting began with enthusiasm in many parts of the state. Hot-headed, radical demagogues took advantage of the occasion to distort the truth and stir the people to revenge. One speaker, typical of many others, assured his hearers that "Abraham Lincoln had given the State of Missouri to them, [Germans,] if they would send enough loped Dutch to conquer the state, and that . . . he saw them, in the presence of the mothers, run bayonets through their infant children and hoist them up and carry them around on their bayonets."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup>According to the Adjutant General's Report four-fifths of Lyon's forces on June 1, 1861 were Germans. Following is a summary table of Lyon's brigade on June 1:

1st Regiment Volunteers Col. F. P. Blair . . . . .	1220
2nd Regiment Volunteers Col. H. Boernstein . . . . .	1128
3rd Regiment Volunteers Col. Franz Sigel . . . . .	1103
4th Regiment Volunteers Col. N. Schinter . . . . .	1027
5th Regiment Volunteers Col. C. E. Solomon . . . . .	926
Battalion of Artillery Major Backoff . . . . .	263
1st Reg. U. S. R. C. Col. H. Almstedt . . . . .	1195
Pioneer Company Captain Voerster . . . . .	120
2nd Reg. U. S. R. C. Col. H. Kallman . . . . .	736
3rd Reg. U. S. R. C. Col. John McNeill . . . . .	839
4th Reg. U. S. R. C. Col. B. Gratz Brown . . . . .	1161
5th Reg. U. S. R. C. Col. Stille . . . . .	1014

The muster rolls of the above regiments show a heavy preponderance of German names.

Adj. Gen. J. B. Gray, *Report of*—Dec. 31, 1863, in *Mo. Senate Journal*, Adj. Session, 22d Gen. Assen. 1863-64. (Appendix, p. 133.)

<sup>29</sup>Judge Wm. Price, *Address of*—at West Plains, Mo., July, 1861. Reported in William Monks, *History of Southern Mo. and Northern Ark.* (West Plains, Mo., 1907), pp. 41-45.

Events hastened toward a decisive culmination. Fifteen minutes after a dispatch was read to the General Assembly, announcing the capture of Camp Jackson, the House passed a military bill, which General Harney, in a proclamation to the people of the state, asserted could not be "regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance."<sup>20</sup> Failure of the Price-Harney agreement of May 20, to satisfy all the factions was only to be followed by the futile efforts of the Planters' Hotel conference of June 11, to guarantee for Missouri a policy of neutrality. From Jefferson City, June 12, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation setting forth the failure of efforts to keep Missouri neutral, closing with another of his double meaning appeals: "While it is your duty to obey all constitutional requirements of the Federal Government, it is equally my duty to advise you that your first duty is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligations whatever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State . . ."<sup>21</sup> The Jackson government then fled from the state capital.

The final determination of Missouri's relations with the Union, however, was not within the power of the state Executive or of the General Assembly. The legislature had passed that grave responsibility up to the people, and the people had passed it on to a Convention, constituted of an overwhelming majority of conservatives. This Convention had adjourned in March, it will be remembered, to meet upon the call of a standing committee. The Convention met in Jefferson City, July 22, 1861. There was profuseness of oratory—bitter denunciation of the military activities of the Federal troops in the state during May and June. But the final decision of the delegates left no room for quibbling relative to Missouri's future relations with the Union. An ordinance was adopted,

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<sup>20</sup>General Harney, *Proclamation to the People of Mo.*, May 15, 1861, in *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1861, p. 480.

<sup>21</sup>Gov. Jackson, *Proclamation of—To the People of Missouri*, June 12, 1861. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1861, pp. 481-482.

vacating the offices of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, and of the general assembly, and providing for the filling of the executive vacancies by action of the Convention—to continue as the official Provisional Government of the state until an election of the people was called for the special purpose of filling all vacancies. Acts passed by the Jackson government relative to arming the state were duly abrogated. On July 31, without opposition, Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis, was elected provisional governor; in like manner Willard P. Hall of Buchanan county, was elected lieutenant-governor, and Mordecai Oliver, Greene county, secretary of state.<sup>22</sup> Missouri was thus officially, from a political point of view, saved for the Union.

We have observed how Missouri was guided safely through the decisive days from November, 1860 to August, 1861. Our purpose in this study is to sketch the progress of political opinion in the state during these exciting times. With the multitudinous details of the story, involving circumstances arising out of the necessities of military strategy from the point of view of the Federal government, we have not had time to deal. We have seen how both radical groups were busy agitating public opinion. We have seen how Governor Jackson and his group were secretly and openly charting Missouri's course toward the Confederacy. On the other extreme, we have witnessed the consequences of the hasty activities of the Blair-Lyon-German organization in and around St. Louis. It is obvious that the extreme Unionists were acting in good faith. Indeed, there was grave danger in any delay of decisive military action in the seizure of the government arsenal and in the capture of Camp Jackson. It is equally obvious that such action of the military authorities against what was deemed the inherent right of the state to arm and train its own militia had tremendous influence in turning many wavering individuals toward the final step of open revolt against the United States.

It is not difficult to designate the individuals or the conditions that were most responsible in placing Missouri form-

<sup>22</sup>State Convention, *Journal*, July 1861, p. 25.

ally and openly on the side of the Union. It seems preposterous to assert that the action of Lyon's brigade of German troops kept Missouri from seceding from the Union. That some ten thousand raw recruits could force a state of over a million people with unmeasured natural resources from acting with its own sovereign will is unthinkable. Nor can it be said that the radical Union element in St. Louis cast such a spell over the state as to evolve a changed political alignment. The simple truth of this whole matter, in the writer's judgment, is that Missouri did not desire to leave the Union. We can grant the state a preponderance of Southern sympathies and tendencies and yet discover ample reasons for her verdict for the Union. The inexpediency of secession—a doctrine preached up and down the state, on the stump and through the press—was in itself enough to prevent such a fatal step. Missouri's position relative to loyal states, as has been pointed out, would have made an overt act of secession suicidal.

No one better knew the intensity of feeling in Missouri than did Governor Jackson. We may be certain that he would appraise sympathy for the South wherever and whenever it showed itself. Yet on April 19, 1861, he wrote to a Southern friend: ". . . I have been from the beginning in favor of decided and prompt action on the part of the Southern States, *but the majority of the people, [of Missouri] up to the present time have differed with me.*"<sup>33</sup> (Italics mine.) No doubt Jackson was fully aware in April, May, and June 1861, that he did not represent the majority in the State, as certainly he discovered when the Secession Act was passed by a minority of the legislature at Neosho in October.<sup>34</sup>

Missouri by August 1, 1861 had returned a decision of loyalty to the Union. It was the judgment of a majority of her people—that identical majority who had counselled moderation all along the way since 1850; that same coalition of conservative opinion which had integrated during the period

<sup>33</sup>Governor Jackson to David Walker, President of the Arkansas Convention—Letter, dated April 19, 1861, in *State Convention, Journal*, July 1861, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup>Switzler, *Missouri*, pp. 318-319.

of party disruption, 1840-1860; that same majority which had overwhelmed both Lincoln and Breckenridge in the election nine months previous. It was a majority rapidly developing into an articulate political group,—not a party as yet— which was to meet bitter and radical opposition, to lose many of its membership, to be overcome by the opposition, reduced to a minority position, and as a minority opposition to wage a fight for principles,—to emerge finally as victors, a compact, reorganized, militant Democracy.

## THE MISSOURI RIVER AND ITS VICTIMS

Vessels Wrecked from the Beginning of  
Navigation to 1925

BY W. J. McDONALD

### SECOND ARTICLE

#### WRECKS (CONTINUED)

**EMMA.** Stern-wheel, 76 tons, 64'x18'x3', built in Nebraska, about 50 miles above Sioux City, Ia., in 1872. Had one engine, 7"x14", one boiler, 9'x30". Owned by George and Fay Mattison. Sunk by storm 20 miles above Omaha, Neb. on Aug. 1, 1873. Was raised and repaired. The steamer was engaged in carrying wood. Loss reported as \$2,500. It was later sold to L. C. Lohman, and was stranded on bar opposite Ewing's landing on Aug. 18, 1885, while bound from Osage to Jefferson City to be dismantled. The river fell before the steamer could be floated, and it became a total loss. Captain George Young, pilot. Loss reported as \$500.

**EUDORA.** Stern-wheel motor vessel, 20 tons, 50'x 20.3'x2.8', built at Wheeler, S. D. in 1910. Owned by Cherie Raymond. Damaged by fire from leaky pipe when engine back-fired upon starting, opposite Wheeler, S. D. on Oct. 13, 1915. Damage reported as \$500. Vessel was later dismantled and abandoned.

**EUPHRASIE.** Side-wheel, single engine. Named after the wife of George Collier, esq. Sunk by snag in what is now known as Euphrasie Bend, about four miles below Glasow, Mo. on Sept. 17, 1840, and with its cargo became a total loss. The engines were later taken off the wreck and put in the steamer *OCEANA*. It had on board 71 hogsheads of tobacco and 150 bales of rope and bagging. This wreck caused the Glasgow Marine Insurance Company to go out of business. One shipper, Captain W. D.

Swinney, had over \$14,000 insurance on a shipment of tobacco.

**EXCEL.** Stern-wheel, 79 tons, built at McKeesport, Pa. in 1851. Had two engines, 12"x55", two boilers, 22'x38", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. Owned by Benjamin F. Beasley, Captain Joe Fecto, pilot. Sunk by snag in Osage chute on March 23, 1856, and became a total loss. The steamer was valued at \$5,500.

**EXPANSION.** Stern-wheel, 78 tons, 123'x26'x3.5', built at Bismark, N. D. in 1900. Owned by the Benton Packett Company. Sunk by ice at Bismark, N. D. on March 13, 1910. Part of the hull was later used in the construction of the motor vessel **EXPANSION**. Vessel valued at \$10,000.

**EXPRESS.** Side-wheel, 29 tons. Sunk by snag at Spar Island, a short distance below Leavenworth, Kan. on July 15, 1855, and became a total loss. Steamer was valued at \$5,500.

**F. J. NUTZ.** Stern-wheel. Struck snag and broke in two, about two miles above Port William, Kansas on Aug. 17, 1869, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$3,000.

**F. Y. BATCHELOR.** Stern-wheel, 313 tons, 178.6'x31'x4', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1878 by Leighton and Jordon. Had two engines, 13'x5', two boilers, 24'x42", allowed a working pressure of 145 lbs. Sunk by striking rocks 16 miles below Forest City, S. D. in Nov. 1879. Was raised and repaired. This steamer made a record run From Bismark, N. D. to Fort Buford, N. D., 307 miles, in 55 hours and 25 minutes on Aug. 12, 1879, Captain Grant Marsh, pilot. Sold to the Benton Packet Company in 1885, who operated it between Sioux City, Ia. and Fort Benton, Mont. until 1906, when it was sold to Captain Joseph Leach, Jr. While in winter quarters at Running Water, S. D. was caught in ice floe on March 6, 1907 and totally destroyed. Loss reported as \$4,000. This was one of the spoon-bill type of mountain boats, the most successful run on the river.

**FAR WEST.** Stern-wheel, 397 tons, 190'x33', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1870 for the Coulson Line. Had two



engines, 15"x5', three boilers, 22"x38", allowed a working pressure of 130 lbs. This steamer had quite a historical career during the Indian trouble in the Northwest in the seventies. A council of war was held on board on June 21, 1876, attended by General Custer, General Terry and a number of other Army officers. It was used in the Custer expedition, and brought the wounded from Little Big Horn to Fort Lincoln, a distance of 920 miles, in 54 hours. It carried General Miles and Buffalo Bill on a scouting trip. It carried the Indian Peace Commission, consisting of Governor Edmunds of Dakota, Hon. Geo. W. Maypenny, General H. H. Sibley, Rev. Henry B. Whipple, and others in 1876 to treat with the Indians. During all of this period it was commanded and piloted by Captain Grant Marsh. It was afterwards sold to Victor Bonnet and Captain Henry M. Dodds. It was sunk by snag at Mullanthy Island, 7 miles below St. Charles, Mo. on Oct. 30, 1883. The steamer FANNIE LEWIS took off a part of the cargo. Loss on steamer reported as \$5,500 and on cargo, \$1,000.

**FAR WEST.** Stern-wheel motor vessel, 9 tons, 47'x12'. Owned by the Kansas State Penitentiary. River bank caved on vessel at the Lansing pump house and caused it to sink on April 10, 1920. Loss \$300.

**FEARLESS.** Stern-wheel, 395 tons, 160'x30', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1865. Had two engines, 20'x8', five boilers, 26'x40", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by the Kansas City Barge Line, Captain Thomas Poe, master. Sunk by snag at the head of Bonhomme Island, Mo. on Aug. 26, 1882, and became a total loss. This was the first and last experimental trip of the Kansas City Barge Line. The steamer was a large, heavy draft Ohio or lower Mississippi river towboat, not at all adapted to the Missouri river. It was on a down trip with a tow of grain barges from Kansas City. The steamer was valued at \$20,000.

**FINLEY BAKER.** Stern-wheel motor vessel. Owned by Captain I. P. Baker, Bismark, N. D. Sunk by snag at Ft. Yates, N. D. in 1908.

**FIRE CANOE.** Side-wheel, 250 tons, 160'x30'. Owned by Goddin Bros. Coal Company. Sunk by snag in Kaw

Bend at the mouth of the Kaw river on Nov. 13, 1853, and became a total loss. It was on its way to Leavenworth loaded with coal. Steamer valued at \$5,000.

FLORENCE. Side-wheel, 399 tons, 200'x34', built at Elizabeth, Pa. in 1857. Had two engines, 22½"x61½', three boilers, 26'x43", allowed a working pressure of 125 lbs. Owned by J. W. Throckmorton and Frank La Barge, Captain Jos. W. Throckmorton, master, Captain Frank La Barge, pilot. Sunk by snag at Port William, Kansas in 1857. Was raised and repaired.

FLOYD. Stern-wheel, 56 tons, 102'x19.7'x3.2', built at Bonnets Mill, Mo. in 1914. Had two engines, 9"x4', one boiler, 18'x44", allowed a working pressure of 182 lbs. Owned by Thompson-Vache Boat Company, Captain William L. Thompson, pilot. Steamer hit a clump of submerged piling of an old dyke in Diana Bend on March 3, 1920, and sank in 14 feet of water. Owing to rising river, the steamer could not be raised and was abandoned. Loss reported as \$15,000.

FONTENELLE. Stern-wheel, 345 tons, built at Brownsville, Pa. in 1870. Had two engines, 14½"x41½', three boilers, 20'x36", allowed a working pressure of 149 lbs. Owned by W. J. Kountz, Captain Albert Kountz, master. Sunk by snag opposite Amazonia, Mo. in Aug. 1868. Was raised and repaired and was sold to John Shaw, Captain William Conley, master. Sunk by snag 10 miles above St. Joseph, Mo. on Aug. 21, 1871. Was again raised and repaired. Damage to steamer and cargo reported as \$23,000. It was finally cut down by ice at Yankton, S. D. in the break-up in the spring of 1881, and became a total loss.

FORT RICE. Stern-wheel motor ferry, 19 tons, 49.6'x13.5'x3', built at Fort Rice, N. D. in 1911. Owned by Monroe J. Marsh. Erosion at high water dropped vessel from bank into the river at Fort Rice, causing it to capsize. Machinery and equipment was lost, but the hull was recovered. Loss reported as \$500. The wreck was sold to John Hammock, and was rebuilt. It was torn from its

moorings at Stanton, N. D. during the run of ice in the spring of 1919 and totally destroyed. Loss reported as \$1,000.

**FRAM.** Stern-wheel motor ferry, 22 tons, 49'x12'. Sunk from unknown cause at Grand Forks, N. D. on Oct. 6, 1900. Loss reported as \$3,000.

**FREDERICK.** Stern-wheel, 82 tons, 96.4'x14.3'x3', built at Tuscumbia, Mo. in 1883. Had two engines, 7½"x2½', one boiler, 14'x46", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. R. M. Marshall, managing owner, Captain Henry Castrop, pilot. Sunk from unknown cause at Jefferson City, Mo. on Aug. 10, 1894. Was raised and repaired.

**G. M.** Stern-wheel, 51 tons, 89.5'x17.9'x3.9', built at Arrow Rock, Mo. in 1906. Had two engines, 8¼"x3½', one boiler, 12'x60", allowed a working pressure of 200 lbs. Owned by Woods Bros. Construction Co., Captain Wallace Walter, pilot. Struck snag on starboard side opposite boiler on Nov. 19, 1919, near Little Sioux river, and sank in five minutes. Machinery was salvaged. Hull was raised and beached, but ice carried it away. Loss reported as \$5,000.

**GALLATIN,** Stern-wheel, 131 tons, 140'x30', built at Chattanooga, Tenn. in 1864. Had two engines, 12'x4', two boilers, 20'x40", allowed a working pressure of 135 lbs. Owned by Samuel Slow. Sunk by snag at the mouth of Little Sioux river on April 16, 1868.

**GARRISON.** Stern-wheel motor vessel, 34 tons, 58'x18'x3.5', built at Big Bend, N. D. in 1910. Owned by Frank Schutt, Expansion, N. D. Sunk in ice floe at Big Bend, N. D. on March 11, 1910. Loss \$1,000.

**GENERAL BRADY.** Side-wheel. Captain Joe Gunsolis, master. Sunk by snag opposite Hermann, Mo. in 1843.

**GENERAL CUSTER.** Stern-wheel, 241 tons, owned by Captain W. J. Kountz. Sunk by snag between Winnebago Bar and Rush Bottom in 1879.

**GENERAL GRANT.** Stern-wheel, 172 tons, built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1863. Had two engines, 13'x4', two boilers, 20'x38", allowed a working pressure of 132 lbs. Sunk by ice three miles below Bellvue, Neb. on March 18, 1866, and

became a total loss. Had 172 tons of freight on board for Fort Benton at the time of the wreck.

GENERAL MCNEIL. Stern-wheel. Sunk by snag in Howard's Bend in the sixties.

GENERAL MEADE. Stern-wheel, 171 tons, 192'x30'x4.3', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1875. Had two compound engines, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 23"x4', two boilers, 20'x36", allowed working pressure of 137 lbs. Built by W. J. Kountz, and owned and commanded by Captain Archie Bryant. Broke loose from its moorings above Fort Randall, S. D. during the ice break-up in the spring of 1881. It drifted down the river about 12 miles and landed about one mile from the river just opposite Yankton Agency, S. D. It was repaired and returned to the river by Nat Sykes, boat builder. Sunk by snag opposite Jefferson City, Mo. on Sept. 5, 1884. Assistance was rendered by the steamer ALICE, and cargo saved. It was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$6,500. Sunk by snag at Pelican Bend on Sept. 4, 1888, and with its cargo, became a total loss. Loss reported as \$6,000 on cargo and \$8,000 on the steamer. It was loaded with 4,000 sacks of wheat.

GENERAL CHAS. H. TOMPKINS. Stern-wheel, 356 tons, built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1878. Had two engines, 11"x4', two boilers, 24'x38", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. Owned by the Kountz Line, Captain William Braithwaite, master. Torn away from moorings at St. Stephens Mission, S. D. by the ice in the spring of 1881, and was carried about ten miles down the river to Swan Lake, and about one mile from the river. Captain Braithwaite spent about two weeks in returning her to the river.

GENERAL TERRY. Stern-wheel, 323 tons, 178.2'x31'x4', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1878 by Durfee & Peck of Keokuk, Iowa. Had two engines, 13"x4', two boilers, 24'x42", allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Was sold to Mrs. A. H. Peck and Mrs. M. F. Atkins, and was sold later to the Benton Packett Company. While transporting troops from Fort Yates, N. D. to Kansas City, Mo., enroute to Texas, it sheered off from a submerged pier and struck a pier of the new Union Pacific Railway Bridge at Omaha, Neb., and sunk

and with its cargo became a total loss. Captain R. L. Woolfolk was master and Captain William Simms, pilot on watch at the time of the accident. Loss reported as \$20,500. The railroad company paid the owners for the loss.

GENERAL W. H. ASHBY. Side-wheel. Owned and commanded by Captain James Sweeney. Sunk by sang at Femme Osage, Mo. in 1830.

GEORGE C. WOLF. Stern-wheel, 533 tons. Captain William W. Crapster, master. Sunk by snag in Bowling Green Bend, at Babler's wood yard, Mo. on May 2, 1874, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$40,000.

GEORGE SPANGLER. Stern-wheel, 179 tons, 124'x25'x 4.2', built at Madison, Ind. in 1873. Had two engines, 10½"x 3', one boiler, 22'x46", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Owned by A. A. Hibbard and others, Captain J. Glenn, master. The steamer had landed at Barry's Landing, 5 miles above Portland, Mo. on Sept. 14, 1879, and from some cause, the head line, by which the the steamer was made fast, parted, and it drifted into the wreck of the steamer MOLLIE DOZIER in Alert Bend and sank. It was raised and repaired. Loss reported as \$2,500.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Side-wheel, single engine. Sunk by snag at Hardeman's orchard, opposite the mouth of the Lamine river, Mo. in 1826, and became a total loss. The steamer was loaded with Government supplies for Fort Calhoun, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

GEORGETOWN. Side-wheel, 183 tons, built at Pittsburgh, Pa. 1852. Had two engines, 14"x4', two boilers, 24'x39", allowed a working pressure of 190 lbs. Owned by Thomas Poe and others, Captain Samuel Cabbell, master. Sunk by snag in the Missouri river on Oct. 12, 1853. Was raised and repaired. Sunk by snag at Bellefontaine Bluffs on May 11, 1855, and with its cargo became a total loss. It was loaded with Government supplies.

GEORGIE LEE. Stern-wheel ferryboat, 91 tons, built at Henleys Ford on the Gasconade river in 1879. Had two engines, 9"x3' one boiler, 17'x40", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Owned by Patrick Jordon and Wm. A.

Dollman, Captain George Riddell, pilot. Sunk by ice at Rocheport, Mo. on Feb. 14, 1883, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$4,000.

GLASGOW. Side-wheel, 647 tons, built at New Albany, Ind. in 1862. Had two engines, 22"x7', three boilers, 26'x42", allowed a working pressure of 130 lbs. Owned by William P. Lamoth and others, Captain William P. Lamoth, master. Sunk by snag in the Missouri river in 1870. Was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$4,000.

GLENCOE. Side-wheel. Sunk by snag in Copeland's Bend, 3 miles above Nebraska City, Neb. about 1887.

GLENMORE. Stern-wheel, 208 tons, 160'x26.5'x4.2' built at Jeffersonville, Ind. in 1897. Had two engines, 14"x5', two boilers, 18'x36", allowed a working pressure of 180 lbs. Owned by Booth Baughman, J. J. Pryor and Phil McCrory, Captain E. H. Matthues, master. While being repaired on the ways at North Kansas City, Mo. the river cut away the bank and the steamer fell into the river on March 18, 1909, and become a total loss. Loss reported as \$19,000. This was formerly the steamer JOHN W. THOMAS.

GOVERNOR ALLEN. Side-wheel towboat, 206 tons, 136'x26'x4', built at Ironton, Ohio in 1874. Had two engines, 14"x5', three boilers, 20'x36", allowed a working pressure of 139 lbs. Owned by M. Wise & Company, Captain John H. Farrell, master. Sunk by snag in Thomas or Millers Bend, at the head of Millers Island on March 13, 1877. Was raised and repaired. Loss reported as \$6,600.

GRACE HUSTON. Center-wheel ferry, 27 tons, 70.7'x17.9'x2.6', built at Missouri City, Mo. in 1878. Had one engine, 7"x12", one boiler, 12'x36", allowed a working pressure of 100 lbs. Owned by Broxton H. Thomas. Sunk by ice while in winter quarters at Waverly, Mo. on Feb. 7, 1881, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$2,000.

GRAND FERRY. Collided with bridge pier at Omaha, Neb. on June 10, 1880, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$61,000.

GREY EAGLE. Stern-wheel motor ferry, 24 tons, 47.6'x24.4'x3.8', built at Poplar, Mont. in 1915. Owned by the

Poplar-Nickwell Ferry Co. While in winter quarters at Poplar, Mont., was cut down and sunk by ice during December, 1915. Loss \$2,300.

GUS FOWLER. Stern-wheel, 309 tons, 160'x29.5'x5.6', built at Jeffersonville, Ind. in 1880. Had two engines, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ "x4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", two boilers, 28'x42", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by H. L. Jones, Captain Alexander Lamont, master, Captain Hans Chadwick, pilot. Sunk by snag at Mokane, Mo. on Aug. 22, 1899 and become a total loss, except boilers and machinery, which were salvaged. Loss reported as \$7,100.

GUS LYNN. Side-wheel. Owned and commanded by Captain W. Beasley. Sunk by snag in Henry Chattillion Bend in 1865 and became a total loss.

H. C. COLEMAN. Stern-wheel, 9 tons, built at St. Louis, Mo. in 1879. Had two engines, 5"x20", one boiler, 6'x50". Owned by Henry McPherson and C. Williamson. Destroyed by boiler explosion of boiler in Diana Bend, 3 miles above Rocheport, Mo. on July 7, 1884. One man, Taylor Smarte, was killed. Loss reported as \$900.

H. C. NUTT. Side-wheel, 246 tons, built at Wellsville, Ohio, in 1870. Had two engines, 20"x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", four boilers, 20'x48", allowed a working pressure of 121 lbs. Owned by H. C. Nutt and W. W. Marsh. While transferring cars at Omaha, Neb. on July 14, 1871, struck bridge pier, damaging steamer to the extent of \$2,000.

HAIDEE. Side-wheel. Sunk by snag in Charbonere Bend in 1845.

HALCYON. Side-wheel. Captain Shepard, master. While on its way from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth, Kan. the steamer was snagged and sunk about 5 or 6 miles below St. Charles, Mo. in 8 or 10 feet of water, on Nov. 14, 1834. The hull filled with mud and could not be raised. Most of the cargo was saved.

HARRY CLYDE. Stern-wheel, 23 tons, 60.9'x23.3'x3.3', built at New Franklin, Mo. in 1889. Had two engines, 6"x2', one boiler, 11'x30", allowed a working pressure of 100 lbs. Owned by F. J. Hawkins & Bro., Captain Wm. Townes,



pilot. The upperworks were destroyed by fire at New Franklin, Mo. on Aug. 14, 1890. No damage to hull or machinery. Damage reported as \$200. Sunk by snag near Omaha, Neb. on April 1, 1891. Raised and repaired at a cost of \$2,000. While lying at Nemaha City, Neb. on April 1, 1892, was swamped by high seas, and sunk in 20 feet of water, becoming a total loss. Loss reported as \$2,000.

HARRY LYNDS. Center-wheel ferry, 27 tons, 64'x18'x3', built at White Cloud, Kan. in 1892. Had one engine, 7"x10", one boiler, 7'x30", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by John H. Lynds. Sunk by snag at White Cloud, Kan. on Aug. 13, 1899, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$800.

HATTIE WELLER, Center-wheel ferryboat. Had one engine, 14"x4', one boiler, 18'x44", allowed a working pressure of 130 lbs. Carried down stream from Kansas City, Mo. by running ice on Feb. 6, 1873, and considerably damaged.

HELENA. Stern-wheel, 199 tons, built at St. Louis, Mo., in 1866. Had two engines, 13½"x31½", two boilers, 26'x38", allowed a working pressure of 139 lbs. Sunk by snag at Bonhomme Island on Oct. 16, 1868, while on a trip from St. Louis to Grand river with Government supplies. Captain John Stansberry, pilot on watch. Was raised and repaired. Cargo in hold damaged, but deck cargo saved. Loss reported as \$26,000.

HELENA. (No. 2.) Stern-wheel, 352 tons, 194'x33'x4,5', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1878. Owned by A. S. Bryan and others, who purchased it from the Benton Transportation Company. Sunk by snag at Lower Bonhomme Island, Mo. in 1887. Was raised and repaired. Sunk by snag at Bonhomme Island Mo., on Oct. 23, 1891, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$9,000. Captain Ed. Anderson was pilot on watch at the time the vessel was lost. The bell of this vessel now rings in a colored church steeple at Washington, Mo.

HENRY S. TURNER. Side-wheel, 763 tons, built at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1866. Had two engines, 22'x7', three

boilers, 26'x44", allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Owned by James A. Yore and others, Captain James A. Yore, master. Sunk by snag in the Missouri river in 1870. Was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$7,500.

HENRY WOHLT. Stern-wheel, 67 tons, 97.8'x20'x3', built at Hermann, Mo. in 1900. Had two engines, 7"x3½', one boiler, 16'x50", allowed a working pressure of 165 lbs. Owned by the Hermann Ferry and Packet Company. The breaking up of ice gorge on Jan. 1, 1910, stove in the starboard side of the steamer while lying in winter quarters at Boonville, Mo., causing it to sink. Was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$300.

HERMANN. Side-wheel, Captain Thomas Baker, master. Sunk by snag opposite St. Charles, Mo. in 1846.

HESPERIAN. Side-wheel, 358 tons, built at Louisville, Ky. in 1857. Had two engines, 23"x7', three boilers, 26'x44", allowed a working pressure of 131 lbs. Owned and commanded by Captain F. B. Kercheval. Sunk by snag two miles below Atchison, Kan. in 1857. Was raised and repaired, and was destroyed by fire at Atchison, Kan. on Aug. 19, 1860.

HIRAM WOOD. Stern-wheel, 161 tons, 100'x22', built at Wyandotte, Kan. in 1865. Had two engines, 10¼"x20", one boiler, 14'x42", allowed a working pressure of 110 lbs. Owned by Crockett, Nelson and Wood, Captain Alexander Crockett, master. Sunk by snag at Bijou Hills, Rosebud Landing, S. D. in 1870. The wreck was purchased by Captain Grant Marsh, who rebuilt it into a ferryboat.

HIRAM WOOD (No. 2.) Side-wheel ferryboat, 161 tons, built at Wyandotte, Kan. in 1865. Rebuilt out of the wrecked steamer HIRAM WOOD in 1871 by Captain Grant Marsh. Had two engines, 11½"x4½', cog-wheel geared, two boilers, 14'x42", allowed a working pressure of 115 lbs. Captain Andrew Larsen, pilot. Sunk from unknown cause at Sioux City, Ia. in 1880, and became a total loss, except the machinery, which was taken off and placed on the steamer ANDREW BENNETT.

**HONDURAS.** Side-wheel, 296 tons, built at Brownsville, Pa. in 1853. Had two engines, 18"x6½", three boilers, 26"x39", allowed a working pressure of 170 lbs. Owned by W. W. Conley, Morris Berry and others. Captain M. Conley, master. Sunk by snag in Rivas Bend above Doniphan, Kan. in 1853. Was raised and repaired. Sunk by ice at Wilkinson Landing on Jan. 26, 1855, and became a total loss.

**HOWARD.** Side-wheel. Sunk at Auxvasse river, about three miles above Chamois, Mo. in 1838.

**HURON.** Stern-wheel towboat 214 tons, built at LeClaire, Ia. in 1865. Had two engines, 16½"x5½", three boilers, 22"x40", allowed a working pressure of 144 lbs. Captain Willis Blakely, master. While enroute from St. Joseph to St. Louis, on Oct. 24, 1871, and laid up for the night at St. John's Island, took fire and burned and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$6,000.

**IDA.** Stern-wheel motor ferry, 31 tons, 60.2'x15.4'x3.6', built at Fort Yates, N. D. in 1911. Owned by Oscar Bauman. Lost in break-up of ice at Fort Yates, N. D. on May 16, 1919. Loss \$1,500.

**IDA REESE.** Stern-wheel, 333 tons, 180'x30', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1865. Had two engines, 15"x5', three boilers, 22'x36", allowed a working pressure of 139 lbs. Owned by Durfee & Peck, Indian traders, Captain John Gillam, master. Sunk by snag near White river, about 23 miles below Chamberlain, S. D. on Jan. 20, 1871, and became a total loss. It was loaded with valuable furs and robes, some of which were saved. Loss reported as \$20,000 on the steamer, and \$100,000 on the cargo.

**IDA STOCKDALE.** Stern-wheel, 377 tons, 180'x32', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1867. Had two engines, 15"x5', three boilers, 22'x42", allowed a working pressure of 119 lbs. Built by Captain R. S. Calhoun, under the supervision of Captain Grant Marsh, who commanded her for several years. This steamer made a net profit of \$42,500 in a season of five months, about twice its rated value. Captain Marsh received a salary of \$1,200 per month. In 1867 the steamer was chartered by the U. S. Government to convey General

Alfred H. Terry and his staff to Fort Benton from a point 220 miles below, during which trip it was held up for several hours by herds of buffalo crossing the river, making navigation impossible. It was afterwards sold to J. Wesley Jacobs and others, and was sunk by ice at Bismark, N. D. in April, 1871, and became a total loss.

IMELDA. Stern-wheel towboat. Sunk by snag at Bismark, N. D. in the seventies, and became a total loss.

IMPERIAL. Stern-wheel, 222 tons. Had two engines,  $15\frac{1}{2}' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'$ , three boilers,  $20' \times 36''$ . Owned by David White, W. S. Harper and A. S. Rowland, Captain McComas, master. Sunk by ice at Bohomme Island, about 20 miles above Yankton, S. D. in 1867.

IONE. Side-wheel, 250 tons, single engine. Sunk by snag at Mount Vernon, just above the mouth of the Salie river, about 15 miles below Rocheport, Mo.

IRENE. Screw-wheel motor vessel, 7 tons,  $38.4' \times 9.3' \times 2.5'$ , built at Kansas City, Mo. in 1915. Owned by E. H. Henderson. Sunk by ice at the mouth of the Kaw river on March 15, 1920.

ISLAND CITY. Stern-wheel,  $140' \times 30'$ , built at Port Byron, Ill. in 1863. Had two engines,  $14'' \times 4'$ , two boilers,  $18' \times 38''$ , allowed a working pressure of 121 lbs. Owned by Adam Heine, Captain Alexander Lamont, master. Sunk by snag opposite Fort Buford, N. D. in Aug. 1864, and became a total loss, except the boilers, which were recovered. The hold was loaded with corn and pork for U. S. troops, all of which was lost. This was one of a fleet of eight steamers which left St. Louis in the spring of 1864 with an expedition under General Sully into the Indian country, and was lost while on the trip.

J. DON CAMERON. Stern-wheel U. S. Government Transport. Sunk by snag at Omaha and Winnebago Agency, about 40 miles above Sioux City, Ia. on May 19, 1877. The steamer was built by the Government for the Yellowstone river trade. It was transporting the baggage and private property of the 5th Infantry from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Keogh, on the Yellowstone river, and sank on its first

trip. No Missouri river pilot was on board, and an Army officer was acting as pilot. The steamer and cargo was a total loss. Seventy-five passengers were rescued by the steamer W. T. SHERMAN, including the wife of General Miles and her sister, Miss Lizzie Sherman, a niece of General Sherman. Several lawsuits grew out of this disaster. No lives were lost.

J. H. LACY. Side-wheel, built at Madison, Ind. in 1863. Had two engines, 20½"x6', three boilers, 22'x40", allowed a working pressure of 125 lbs. Owned by the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company, Captain W. F. Barrows, master, Captain W. L. Blair, pilot. While enroute from Omaha to St. Joseph on Oct. 10, 1867, was sunk by snag at Charleston, Mo., and became a total loss. The steamer sunk in 7 feet of water in 15 minutes. It was valued at \$20,000, and the cargo at \$27,000.

J. H. OGLESBY. Side-wheel, 225'x35'. Captain E. T. Herndon, pilot. Sunk by snag in Euphrasie Bend, 1½ miles below Bluffport, Mo. in October, 1859.

J. M. CLENDENIN. Side-wheel, 276 tons, 200'x32', built at Louisville, Ky. in 1852. Had two engines, 20'x7', three boilers, 26'x40", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by H. W. Smith, Lewis Bros. and others, Captain Henry W. Smith, master. Sunk by snag at Bate's woodyard, about 10 miles below Hermann, Mo. in Nov. 1853, and with its cargo became a total loss. Loss reported as \$16,000. Captain Smith was one of the founders of the Memphis Packet Company, and also of the well known Anchor Line.

J. M. RICHTMAN. Stern-wheel, 209 tons, 121'x23.5'x3.9', built at Sterling Island, Ill. in 1899. Had two engines, 12'x6', two boilers, 16'x40", allowed a working pressure of 196 lbs. Owned by Jacob Richtman and Sons, Captain J. J. Richtman, master. Just after leaving Florence, Neb. on Sept. 13, 1900, the staybolts supporting the crown-sheet in the starboard boiler gave way, slightly scalding several passengers.

J. P. GAGE. Side-wheel, 198 tons, 114'x32'x5', built at Port Clinton, Ia. in 1884. Had two engines, 16'x41½', two

boilers, 20'x42", allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Owned by the St. Charles Ferry & Transportation Company. Sunk by snag at St. Charles, Mo. on Sept. 7, 1893, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$5,000.

J. R. WELLS. Stern-wheel 92 tons, 110.6'x20'x4', built at Tuscumbia, Mo. in 1898. Had two engines, 10"x4', one boiler, 18'x42", allowed a working pressure of 177 lbs. Owned by Staunton & Jones, Leavenworth, Kansas. While in winter quarters at Pelican Bend, was sunk by ice gorge on Jan. 30, 1920, in about 10 feet of water, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$5,000.

JACOB SASS. Stern-wheel, 179 tons, built at Leavenworth, Kan. in 1865. Had two engines, 12"x4', two boilers, 14'x40", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Sunk by snag below Decatur, Neb. in the seventies, and became a total loss.

JAMES E. RANKIN. Stern-wheel, 249 tons, built at Wheeling, W. Va. Captain Jim Clark, master. The steamer had been lying on a bar in the Yellowstone river for some time, and it was pulled off on Oct. 5, 1877, and sank and became a total loss.

JAMES H. TROVER. Stern-wheel, 391 tons, 160'x32', built at Cincinnati, Ohio in 1864. Had two engines, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ "x41 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', two boilers, 22'x38" allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Owned and commanded by Captain Charles D. Artee. While bound to Fort Benton, and at a point now known as Trover Point, about 30 miles above Musselshell river, Mont., the boiler supply pump became deranged, and the water in the boilers becoming low, it was necessary to land the steamer for repairs. The river was falling fast, and before the repairs were completed, the steamer was left high and dry on June 21, 1867, and it was abandoned and became a total loss.

JAS. LYONS. Stern-wheel. Sunk by snag on the south side of Bonhomme Island, Mo. in the eighties, and became a total loss.

JENNIE. Stern-wheel motor vessel, 10 tons, 46'x20'x2', built at Chamberlain, S. D. in 1906. Destroyed by ice floe

while lying in winter quarters at Mondak, Mont. on April 10, 1909. Loss reported as \$2,000.

JENNIE. Stern-wheel motor vessel, 15 tons, 58'x14'. Owned by the St. Joseph Sand Company. Capsized in wind storm near the St. Joseph bridge on April 1, 1910, and became a total loss. Loss about \$2,500.

JIMMY. Stern-wheel motor vessel, 25 tons, 51'x21'x3.4', built at Culbertson, Mont. in 1914. Owned by the Power Ferry Company. Damaged to the extent of \$500 by ice floe while lying in winter quarters at Culbertson, Mont. on April 10, 1916.

JIM WATSON. Stern-wheel, 107 tons, 126.8'x28.6'x3.7', built at Belle Vernon, Pa. in 1858. Had two engines, 13½"x5', two boilers, 26'x38", allowed a working pressure of 125 lbs. Owned by the Missouri River Transportation Company, Captain Reneke, master. Sunk from unknown cause in 1882 just below Amazonia, Mo. Was raised and repaired.

JOHN BULL. Stern-wheel. Sunk by rocks opposite the foot of Howards Bend in 1861. This steamer was owned by the Government and was loaded with supplies.

JOHN GOLONG. Side-wheel, single engine. Sunk by snag in Malta Bend, Mo. in 1840.

JOHN HANCOCK. Side-wheel, single engine. Sunk by snag in Brickhouse Bend, Mo. in 1840.

JOHN R. HUGO. Stern-wheel, 136 tons, 127'x27'x3', built at Evansville, Ind. in 1879. Had two engines, 12½"x3½', one boiler, 24'x42", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by F. G. Schenen & Sons, Captain William L. Thompson, pilot. Caught fire from the explosion of a lamp while at Florence, Neb. on May 22, 1900, and cabin and upper-works destroyed. The steamer was abandoned and machinery transferred to the steamer OSAGE.

JOSEPH KINNEY. Side-wheel, 739 tons, 231'x38.4'x6.8', built at Madison, Ind. in 1872. Had two engines, 22'x7', three boilers, 26'x39", allowed a working pressure of 139 lbs. Owned by the Kansas City Packett Company, Captain George G. Keith, master. Struck Boonville Bridge, and swung under the south span, carrying away pilot house,



texas and chimneys. Was repaired and put in service. Collided with Kansas City bridge on March 27, 1876 and lost one of its paddle-wheels. Damage reported as \$2,500. Was again repaired, and was finally sunk by striking the Glasgow bridge on April 13, 1882, and with its cargo became a total loss. Captain Toney Schwab, pilot on watch. It had on board 4,500 sacks of wheat, which was insured for \$5,000. The steamer was valued at \$27,000.

JOS. L. STEPHENS. Stern-wheel, 85 tons, 103'x29.4'x4.2', built at Jeffersonville, Ind. in 1887. Had two engines, 10"x 3½", one boiler, 16'x48", allowed a working pressure of 100 lbs. Owned by Mary E. Brent. Damaged by fire a Kansas City, Mo. to the extent of \$3,000 on Oct. 31, 1909.

JOSIE L. K. Stern-wheel ferry, 27 tons, 71.5'x14.5'x3.5', built at Chamberlain, S. D. in 1884. Had two engines, 8"x12", one boiler, 9'x48", allowed a working pressure of 185 lbs. Owned by the Yankton Bridge & Ferry Company. While in winter quarters at Yankton, S. D. was cut down by ice floe on April 20, 1920, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$10,000.

JOSEPHINE. Stern-wheel, 214 tons, 183'x31'x4', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1873. Had two engines, 15"x5', two boilers, 26'x42", allowed a working pressure of 160 lbs. Owned by Captain Joseph Leach. While in winter quarters at Running Water, S. D. was caught in ice floe on March 8, 1907, and sunk. Steamer a total loss, except boilers and machinery, which were salvaged and shipped to the Yukon river. Formerly the U. S. Steamer JOSEPHINE.

JUDITH. Stern-wheel, 685 tons, 184.4'x33.2'x4.4', built at Mound City, Ill. in 1881. Had two engines, 14"x5', two boilers, 26'x44", allowed a working pressure of 159 lbs. Was formerly the car transfer steamer NORTHERN PACIFIC No. 2, and was rebuilt into a packet boat by the Benton Transportation Company, who sold it to Captain John E. Massengale and Augustus W. Block. Sunk by snag in Brick-house bend on July 29, 1888, and became a total loss. Captain Charles B. Able, master, Captain John Gilham, pilot. It had on board a cargo of wheat valued at \$9,000. Steamer valued at \$15,000.

JULIA. Side-wheel. Sunk by snag in Bellefontaine Bend in 1849.

KANSAS. Side-wheel. Sunk by snag in Kansas Bend, above Linden Landing, on April 25, 1853, and became a total loss.

KATE HOWARD. Side-wheel, 504 tons, built at Louisville, Ky. in 1857. Had two engines, 24'x7', three boilers, 28'x46", allowed a working pressure of 117 lbs. Owned by Joseph F. Nansen, James W. Lewis and Brewster & Hilliard, Captain Joseph F. Nansen, master, Captain Joe Fecto, pilot. Sunk by snag in Osage Chute on Aug. 4, 1859, and became a total loss. The steamer was bound from St. Joseph to St. Louis with a cargo of tobacco and hemp, part of which was saved. This was regarded as a model steamer, and was valued at \$40,000.

KATE SWEENEY. Side-wheel, 328 tons, built at Jeffersonville, Ind. in 1852. Had two engines, 19'x7', three boilers, 26'x40", allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Owned by P. M. Choteau, Captain Joe Fecto, pilot. Sunk by snag in Kate Sweeney Bend, above Vermillion river, on Aug. 1, 1855, and became a total loss. It was on its way from the mountains loaded with furs. George Anderson and the deck crew started to walk to Sioux City, Ia., but were killed by the Indians. This steamer was named for a daughter of Captain W. D. Sweeney, of Glasgow, Mo., and was a very popular and successful steamer in its day.

KATIE. Center-wheel ferry, 29 tons, built in 1876. Had one engine, 12'x3½', one boiler, 20'x38", allowed a working pressure of 95 lbs. Owned by Captain Grant Marsh. Broke away from moorings at Yankton, S. D. on May 31, 1877, drifted down the stream and hit a snag and sunk and became a total loss. This steamer had the boiler and machinery from the wrecked steamer YANKTON.

KATTY P. KOUNTZ. Stern-wheel, 468 tons, built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1871. Had two compound engines, 10" and 23'x4½', two boilers, 22'x38", allowed a working pressure of 132 lbs. Owned by the K. P. Kountz Transportation Company, Captain John Ness, master. Sunk by snag at Omaha and Winnebago Agency in 1880.

**LADY GRACE.** Stern-wheel, 387 tons, built at Madison, Ind. in 1865. Had two engines,  $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'$ , three boilers,  $22' \times 36''$ , allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Owned and commanded by Captain Dave Haney. Destroyed by fire while lying at Omaha, Neb. on Jan. 7, 1870. Steamer valued at \$12,000.

**LADY LEE.** Stern-wheel, 417 tons,  $176' \times 35' \times 5.5'$ , built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1871. Had two engines,  $16'' \times 6'$ , three boilers,  $24' \times 40''$ , allowed a working pressure of 125 lbs. Owned by the Star Line, Captain Bill Ball, master. Steamer became unmanageable on account of wind and current while backing out from a landing about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles below Sibley, Mo. on March 29, 1882, flanked against a snag and sunk, and with its cargo became a total loss. Loss reported as \$20,000.

**LANCASTER.** Side-wheel, 175 tons, built at Liverpool, Ill. in 1866. Had two engines,  $12'' \times 4'$ , two boilers,  $20' \times 42''$ , allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Sunk by snag at Smith's Island, above New Haven, Mo. in 1866, and with its cargo became a total loss. The wreck can still be seen in low water.

**LAST CHANCE.** Stern-wheel, 50 tons,  $98.2' \times 17.8' \times 3'$ , built at Burlington, Ia. in 1870. Had two engines,  $11'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'$ , one boiler,  $18' \times 42''$ , allowed a working pressure of 83 lbs. Sunk by snag in the vicinity of Omaha, Neb. in 1890, and became a total loss.

**LEANORA.** Stern-wheel, 285 tons,  $180' \times 32'$ , built at Woodland, Va. in 1861. Had two engines,  $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'$ , three boilers,  $24' \times 36''$ , allowed a working pressure of 128 lbs. Captain Timothy Packard, master. Destroyed by fire at Ponca Landing, Neb. in 1867.

**LEAVENWORTH.** Stern-wheel, 42 tons,  $80' \times 16.7' \times 3.8'$ , built at Leavenworth, Kan. in 1908. Owned by the E. C. Dresser Sand Company, Captain Otto Neuhauser, pilot. Foundered in high wind storm while tied to the bank at Napoleon, Mo. on May 27, 1918, and sank in 32 feet of water. Loss reported as \$6,000.

LEXINGTON. Side-wheel, 200 tons, 135'x22', single engine, two boilers. Captain William Littleton, master. Sunk by snag at Frankfort, Mo. in Sept. 1845. Was afterwards raised and brought to St. Louis.

LIBERTY. Side-wheel. Owned and commanded by Captain J. B. Mousette. Sunk by snag in Brickhouse bend on Oct. 24, 1831.

LIGHT WESTERN. Side-wheel ferryboat, 40 tons, 83.3'x16.4'x2.7', built at Oldenburg, Mo. in 1874. Had two engines, 8"x12", one boiler, 10'x36", allowed a working pressure of 100 lbs. Owned by Henry Wohlt. Cut down and sunk by ice at the foot of old Hermann Island on Dec. 17, 1879. Loss reported as \$1,000.

LILLY. Stern-wheel, 372 tons, built at Louisville, Ky. in 1864. Had two engines, 15"x5', two boilers, 22'x42", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Captain D. R. Risley, master, Captain Geo. C. Townsend, pilot on watch. While bound from St. Louis to Grand River loaded with about 160 tons of Government supplies, struck a snag in Rush Bottom Bend, 1 mile below Rulo, Neb. on Oct. 24, 1868. The snag entered the starboard bow, coming through the bottom and up through the main deck, causing the the steamer to fill with water and sink in about 10 feet of water in three minutes. Part of the cargo was saved in a damaged condition. Loss on steamer reported as \$20,000, and \$8,000 on cargo.

LILLY MAUD. Stern-wheel, 16 tons, 53'x11'x3.5', built at DeWitt, Mo. in 1889. Had one engine, 6"x12", one boiler 41½"x40", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Owned by Samuel B. Casebolt. Sunk at Brunswick, Mo. on July 8, 1891. The steamer had been layed up for some time, and the seams in the hull had dried out. Was raised and dismantled.

LILY. Side-wheel, 507 tons, 178'x28'x4', built at Louisville, Ky. in 1875. U. S. Lighthouse Tender. Captain William Eagon, master, Captain Campbell Hunt, pilot. Sunk by snag near Wellington, Mo. on Oct. 17, 1911. Was raised and again sunk by snag near St. Albans, Mo. on Nov. 24,

1911, and became a total loss, except boilers, machinery and equipment, which was salvaged.

**LITTLE DICK.** Center-wheel ferryboat, 63 tons, 98.6'x 27.6'x3.2', built at Rocheport, Mo. in 1876. Had one engine, 16"x5', one boiler, 18'x42", allowed a working pressure of 110 lbs. Owned by David L. and Fannie B. Kaiser, Captain David L. Kaiser, master. While lying at Rocheport, Mo. on May 8, 1881, the river fell rapidly and caught the steamer on the bank. Effort was made to float the steamer by the use of spars, but high winds caused the spars to trip, and the steamer careened, fell into the river and sunk. Loss reported as \$10,000.

**LITTLE MAIL.** Side-wheel, single engine. Sunk by snag at Mt. Vernon, Mo. in Nov. 1845. It had on board a cargo of hemp and hides, which were lost. The machinery was salvaged and the steamer abandoned.

**LITTLE MISSOURI.** Side-wheel. Captain Bob Wright, master. Sunk by snag below Frankfort, Mo. in what is now known as Little Missouri Bend, about 1850.

**LITTLE RED.** Side-wheel. Sunk by snag at Loutre Island, opposite Hermann, Mo. in 1840. This steamer was named for Senator D. Barton of Missouri.

**LIZZIE CAMPBELL.** Center-wheel ferryboat, 122 tons, 129.5'x31.8'x5.4', built at Jeffersonville, Ind. in 1868. Had one engine, 18"x5'. two boilers, 16'x48". Owned by J. R. Sousley and others, Captain W. T. B. Simpson, master. Sunk by ice at Nebraska City, Neb. on May 6, 1883, and became a total loss. Steamer valued at \$4,000.

**LIZZIE REID.** Stern-wheel, 46 tons, built at Forest City, S. D. in 1896. Owned by the Northwestern Transportation Company. Destroyed by fire at Gettysburg, S. D. on July 12, 1901. Loss \$2,000.

**LIZZIE WARDEN.** Stern-wheel ferryboat. Built at Independence, Mo. in 1868. Owned by Bramble, Miner and others. Sank at Yankton, S. D. in 1873, and became a total loss.

**LLOYD.** Stern-wheel motor ferry, 26 tons, 67.2'x18'x 3.7', built at Norborne, Mo. in 1902. Sunk by ice floe

while lying in winter quarters one mile above Miami, Mo. on Jan. 25, 1910, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$4,000.

LOUISA. Side-wheel, 250 tons, 130'x30', built at Cairo, Ill. in 1864. Had two engines, 12"x4½', one boiler, 26'x42", allowed a working pressure of 185 lbs. The steamer had hemp in the hold, which caught fire while the steamer was lying at South Point, Mo. in 1864. The steamer was scuttled and sunk, and could not be raised as the river was rising very fast.

LOUISVILLE. Stern-wheel, 191 tons, 180'x33', built at Pittsburg, Pa. in 1864. Had two engines, 14"x4', two boilers, 26'x45", allowed a working pressure of 155 lbs. Captain Abe Wolf, master. Sunk by snag in Pratts Cut-off, or Louisville Bend, in 1864. Was raised and repaired.

LOUIS F. LYNN. Side-wheel. Captain W. C. Jewett, master. Sunk by snag at the head of St. Charles Island in 1848 or 1849.

LOW WATER. Stern-wheel. Sunk from unknown cause at Hill's Landing, Mo. on Nov. 27, 1857, and with its cargo became a total loss. Was valued at \$8,000.

LUCY LEE. Center-wheel ferryboat, 46 tons, 83.4'x24.2'x3.3', built at Grafton, Ill. in 1870. Had one engine, 13"x4½', one boiler, 16'x36", allowed a working pressure of 100 lbs. Owned by John Burrus and others. While lying in winter quarters at Miami, Mo. on Feb. 7, 1881, was sunk by ice floe, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$3,000. This steamer had previously been sunk by ice on March 12, 1875, and was raised and repaired.

LYNCHBURG. Side-wheel. Built in 1842. Sunk by snag in Pittmans Bend, mouth of Femme Osage river on Mar. 27, 1842. It was on its first trip, and had on board 3,000 bushels of wheat. The passengers were brought to St. Louis by the steamer THOMAS.

M. LIVINGTON. Side-wheel, 120'x20'. Had two engines, 11½"x4½', two boilers, 22'x38", allowed a working pressure of 140 lbs. Sunk by ice at Running Water, S. D. in the spring of 1868. Was raised and repaired, and was

again sunk by ice in the spring of 1881. It was dismantled in 1882, and the machinery put on the steamer ANDREW S. BENNETT.

MAGNETA. Side-wheel, 424 tons, 215'x35', built at Mound City, Ill. in 1863. Had two engines 20½"x61½', two boilers, 26'x46", allowed a working pressure of 125 lbs. Owned by F. M. Dozier, C. C. Choteau, Ben Johnson and Frank Constant. Sunk by snag in bend below DeWitt, Mo. in May, 1864, and with its cargo became a total loss.

MALTA. Side-wheel. Captain Joseph W. Throckmorton, master. Sunk by snag in Malta Bend, two miles above Laynesville, Mo. in Aug. 1841, and with its cargo became a total loss. It sank in a little over one minute after striking the snag, in about 12 feet of water. Its principal cargo was for the Fur Company.

MANDAN. Side-wheel. Captain Phil Hannon, master. Sunk by snag at the mouth of the Gasconade river.

MARIE. Stern-wheel motor vessel, 23 tons, 64.7'x14.2'x3.8', built at Boonville, Mo. in 1913. Owned by C. H. Dunnevant. Sprung a leak while lying up for the night at Boonville, Mo. on Oct. 14, 1920, and sunk. Loss \$6,000.

MARINER. Stern-wheel, 180'x33'. Sunk by snag in Onawa Bend, near Decatur, Neb. on May 9, 1867.

MARION. Side-wheel. Built at Pittsburg, Pa. Had two engines, 13"x3½', two boilers, 16' x 40", allowed a working pressure of 116 pounds. Captain William D. Shanks, master. Sunk on sand bar at Pables Rapids, 70 miles below Fort Benton Mont. in 1866, and become a total loss, except boilers and machinery, which were salvaged.

MARJORIE. Stern-wheel ferryboat. 54 tons, 74.2'x21.2' x 4', built at Osage, Mo. in 1908. Had two engines, 7" x 2½', one boiler, 12' x 40", allowed a working pressure of 110 lbs. Owned by the Lafayette County Ferry Company. Destroyed by fire while lying at the bank at Lexington, Mo. on July 8, 1917. Loss reported as \$6,500.

MARS. Side-wheel, 180'x34', built at Cincinnati, Ohio. Had two engines, 20" x 7', three boilers, 28'x40". Owned by C. W. Sombart, I. M. Nelson, J. L. Stephens, E. B.



McPherson and H. McPherson. Captain E. B. McPherson, master. Sunk by snag at Cogswell Landing, Mo., opposite mouth of Fishing river, in May, 1865.

MARTHA STEPHENS. Stern-wheel, 192 tons, built at Osage, Mo. in 1883. Had two engines, 10"x3½", one boiler, 14' x 48", allowed a working pressure of 130 lbs. Owned and commanded by Captain Henry McPherson. Sunk by snag at Sibley, or Turkey Island on Aug. 9, 1884, and with its cargo became a total loss. Six lives reported lost. Loss reported as \$10,000 on the steamer and \$6,000 on the cargo, which consisted of 3,500 sacks of wheat.

MARY BELLE. Center-wheel ferryboat, 50 tons, 70'x12'x 2.6', built at Laynesville, Mo. in 1876. Had one engine, 6'x 12", one boiler, 80'x30", allowed a working pressure of 90 lbs. Owned by W. B. Milam and William Sturgis. Sunk by snag at Scott's Island, near DeWitt, Mo. in 1878.

MARY BENNETT. Stern-wheel. Captain Jim Clarke, master. Sunk by ice at Sioux City, Iowa, in 1869.

MARY E. BENNETT. Stern-wheel, 21 tons, 64'x14'x2.5', built at Covington, Neb., in 1888. Had two engines, 7¼" x 34", one boiler, 16' x 38", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. Owned by Richard Talbot. Sunk by ice at Sioux City, Ia. on Mar. 4, 1894. Was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$500. Sunk by snag at Cook's Landing on Oct. 15, 1898, and became a total loss.

MARY H. Center-wheel ferryboat. Owned by Captain Hostetter. Sunk near Liberty Landing, Mo., in 1906.

MARY J. ARNOLD. Stern-wheel ferryboat, 61 tons, 94.4'x 24.8' x 3.7', built at Muscatine, Ia. in 1868. Had two engines, 9½"x3', two boilers, 14'x38", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. Owned by Leonard Arnold, Captain James Tetlow, pilot. Sunk by ice on Mar. 12, 1875. Was raised and repaired. Sunk by snag near Brownsville, Neb. on Feb. 20, 1880, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$2,500.

MARY McDONALD. Side-wheel, 436 tons, built at St. Louis, Mo. in 1866. Had two engines, 20'x5', three boilers, 24'x38", allowed a working pressure of 142 lbs. Captain George Keith, master and managing owner, Captain Herry Keith, pilot. Destroyed by fire at Gilham's Landing, Mo.

on June 12, 1873. This steamer was operated as an independent packet, and was an excellent steamer for the Missouri river. The hold was full of hemp, which caught on fire. Loss reported as \$21,000 on steamer and \$10,000 on cargo.

MARY MCGEE. Center-wheel ferryboat, 135 tons, 108.5' x 32.6' x 4.6', built at Nodaway Slough, Mo., in 1869. Had one engine, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', one boiler, 20' x 42", allowed a working pressure of 110 lbs. Owned by W. Micklewort and E. S. Sharp, Captain W. Micklewort, master. Sunk by ice at Plattsmouth, Neb. on April 6, 1877. The steamer was valued at \$5,000.

MATTIE BELL. Stern-wheel, 240 tons, 173.2' x 26.2' x 4.2', built at Rocheport, Mo. in 1875. Had two engines, 13' x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', two boilers, 26' x 38", allowed a working pressure of 137 lbs. Owned by the Bell-St. Louis Transportation Company, Captain E. W. Gould, master. Sunk by snag at the foot of Cora Island on Aug. 25, 1879. Was raised and repaired, and was sold to the St. Louis, Naples and Peoria Packet Company. Was finally sunk by ice while in winter quarters at St. Louis, Mo. on Jan. 30, 1888, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$6,000.

MATTIE LEE. Center-wheel ferryboat, 104 tons, 110' x 28' x 4', built at Grafton, Ill. in 1881. Had one engine, 15' x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', one boiler, 20' x 48", allowed a working pressure of 119 lbs. Owned by D. N. and John Burrus, Captain D. N. Burrus, master, Captain Ed. Herndon, pilot. Sunk by snag one mile below Maima, Mo. on Nov. 12, 1888. Was raised and repaired. Damage reported as \$385. While in winter quarters at Miami, Mo., on Feb. 19, 1894, the breaking of an ice gorge crowded the steamer from the shore down the river on a snag, and it sunk in ten feet of water, becoming a total loss. Loss reported as \$7,500. The boiler of this steamer was recovered by the snagboat MISSOURI in 1917, and now lies at the water's edge about one-half mile below Miami.

MAY BRYAN. Center-wheel ferryboat, 97 tons, 115' x 28' x 4.5', built at Jeffersonville, Ind., in 1875. Had one engine, 16" x 5', one boiler, 22' x 44", allowed a working pressure of 114 lbs. Owned by the Washington Ferry Company. Steamer was laid up at Washington, Mo., and seams in hull dried out,

and it sunk on Oct. 12, 1897, and became a total loss. Loss reported as \$3,000. The wreck can still be seen in low water out from the Missouri Pacific Railway depot at Washington, Mo.

**MAY STEWART.** Stern-wheel, 62 tons, 91.6' x 22.8' x 3.9', built at Dubuque, Ia., in 1905. Had two engines, 10" x 4', one boiler, 16' x 48", allowed a working pressure of 200 lbs. Owned by the Stewart-Peck Sand Company. On May 23, 1907, rudder became fouled with driftwood as the steamer was about to enter the span of bridge at Atchison, Kan., causing it to strike pier, knocking down chimneys, pilot house and cabin. Damage reported as \$400.

**MAYFLOWER.** Side-wheel motor ferry, 40 tons, 81.4' x 25.6' x 3', built at Williston, N. D., in 1912. Owned by John Kluth. Damaged to the extent of \$500 by ice break-up near Williston, N. D., on April 10, 1916. Was repaired and was sunk by snag near Mondak, Mont., while bound up the river on Oct. 10, 1916, and became a total loss, except the machinery, which was salvaged. Loss \$3,500.

**MAYFLOWER.** Motor ferry. Sunk by ice above Sibley bridge.

**MESSENGER BOY.** Stern-wheel. Caught on bank by falling river at Wynot, Neb., in 1881, and river changed its course and left the steamer about three-quarters of a mile from the river.

**METTAMORA.** Stern-wheel, 221 tons, built at Peoria, Ill. in 1864. Had two engines, 15" x 4½', three boilers, 16' x 40", allowed a working pressure of 120 lbs. Owned by A. A. Hibbard and others. Sunk by snag on the north side of Franklin Island, just below Boonville, Mo., on Sept. 27, 1875, and became a total loss. Loss \$4,000.

**MIKE BAUER.** Stern-wheel, 20 tons, 65' x 9.1' x 3.3', built at Brunswick, Mo., in 1892. Had two engines, 7" x 2½', one boiler, 8' x 60", allowed a working pressure of 150 lbs. Owned by the Frankenfield Sand & Fuel Company, Captain Charles S. Farris, pilot. Broke loose from moorings at Kansas City, Mo., by rapid rise of the river on May 31, 1903, struck bridge, sunk, and became a total loss.

(To be continued.)

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

"The ideal citizen of a modern commonwealth is the historically minded man"—one interested in the present, but also in the past and perchance in the future. This apothegm calls to mind a statement made by one of the most learned men England has produced. In his little seventy-four page book on "The Study of History," Lord Acton writes: "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics."

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Even a cursory perusal of the papers presented in each number of *The Missouri Historical Review* will impress one with the widespread interest of Missourians in the history of their state. Contributions are forthcoming in large numbers each year. Representative citizens of all walks of life are becoming historically minded. They are finding cultural development and inspiration in the annals of their people. History has ceased being regarded as an abstraction and has become a source of pleasure and education.

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The historical articles appearing in the Missouri press today are larger in number and higher in quality than at any previous period in the state's annals. The editor is developing interest in his local field. He is making a contribution in the growth of community pride, the handmaid of state pride.

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The feature writer is turning more and more frequently to history and biography. Here are found a larger number of subjects for exploitation than even the most fanciful imagination can produce. The subjects are real,—a further inspiration to the author. And, whether tragic or comic, they are slants on life and are helpful.

The wisdom of age, that desideratum of all, is fundamentally historical. Nor should one regard it as restricted to its individual possessor. The life of an individual is the product of many intertwining persons and factors. And all this is in some degree subject to ownership by any claimant who desires to cultivate the fertile pages of a book on history or biography.

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Wise men, filled with the fruits of knowledge and the rewards and penalties of experience, are usually poised men. They are neither over-optimistic nor pessimistic. They do not rise above their fellows at either end of the extremes. Rather do they tower above the great mass in the middle of the line—but in the middle. They appreciate the hopes and fears of the extremists without partaking of either in surfeit. Their very wisdom keeps them balanced. They are the safeguards of every civilization. They are the practical followers of history.

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One of these men came into my office this winter. His town had recently had an exceptionally disastrous bank failure. He said that his fellow citizens at once began prophesying the immediate decline of the town, but he remarked, "I told them that bad as things were and dark as the future looked, old ——— would again be on her feet although it would take several years. I told them of the former trials of our little city—fires, thefts, lawlessness, poverty, wartime destruction of life and property—and they admitted that the bank failure did not equal some of these. And right now, we are rapidly recovering and in less than two decades from now, perhaps within one decade, that bank failure will be history known only to those who are students of history." And the man was one of the heaviest losers in the failure.

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That reminds me of another wise man, who in the '50s was one of the biggest stockholders in the recently organized North Missouri (now Wabash) railroad. Someone asked Colonel O'Fallon if he thought the proposition would pay.

"No," he replied with deliberation, "not in my time. Perhaps not in yours. Eventually it will be profitable." And Colonel O'Fallon also was a heavy loser in the venture but when he died he left a large estate. And so might the gamut be run and when examples had multiplied many times the hearer or reader would have surveyed only one small twig of a branch of the history tree.

MOTHER PHILIPPINE DUCHESNE

*Mother Philippine Duchesne*, by Marjory Erskine. *With an introduction by Most Reverend John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis.* Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1926. 400 pp. illus.

The words of Richard Elliott that "neither song nor story has ever done justice to the women of the frontier," are still largely true, but Miss Erskine does justice, in her book, to one of Missouri's pioneer women—Mother Philippine Duchesne.

The book deals in a comprehensive manner with the work of five sisters of the Sacred Heart, who came to America from France in 1818, with the view of becoming missionaries to the Indians. Schools for white children were so sorely needed, however, that the good sisters were persuaded to take up the work in St. Louis, St. Charles, Florissant and Ste. Marie.

The misfortune, opposition, poverty and disease which dogged the footsteps of these patient, faithful sisters give one a rare glimpse of Missouri during the nineteenth century. Unwilling to use slave labor and unable to hire workers the Sisters did their own gardening, milked cows, carried water from the frozen Missouri and performed many other menial tasks. No privations were too great nor was any suffering too severe for these pioneer missionaries. They steadfastly believed that what they were "sowing in tears would one day be harvested in joy."

Every Missourian should find this book of interest. It centers around the beautiful character of Mother Duchesne, than whom in the words of Father DeSmet, "no greater Saint ever died in Missouri, nor perhaps in the whole Union."

## HISTORIC RAVENSWOOD

*Historic Ravenswood; its founders and its cattle; preceded by a brief history of the shorthorn breed up to the period of its introduction into the United States.* By John Ashton, Columbia, Mo., printed by E. W. Stephens publishing company, 1926. 157 pp. illus.

In presenting this brief and concise account of the estate of Ravenswood, and the part played by its owners, the Leonards, in the introduction and improvement of the Shorthorn breed of cattle in Missouri, Mr. Ashton has made a very real contribution to the agricultural history of the Middle West. Here, both the fact and romance of early cattle-breeding in the United States are interestingly set forth.

The book is dedicated by its sponsor, Mr. N. Nelson Leonard, the present owner of Ravenswood, to his father, the late Captain Charles E. Leonard. It is published as a memorial to Captain Leonard and his father, Nathaniel Leonard, the founder of the Ravenswood herd of Shorthorn cattle, both of whom did much toward the dissemination of an improved quality of Shorthorn stock in the United States.

Mr. Ashton, the author, knows his subject well; he presents it with authority and with a charming and graphic pen. The first five chapters of the book are devoted to a history of European domestic cattle, tracing as well as may be, the evolution of the English Shorthorn or "Durham" breed, from which the American Shorthorn strain is derived. Chapters VI and VII are given over to an account of the first American importations of English Shorthorns into Massachusetts and Virginia, about the year 1783, and their subsequent dissemination and improvement in the Kentucky and Ohio strains.

The remainder of the book deals with the history of Ravenswood, the Leonard estate near Bunce-ton, Cooper County, Missouri. Here, in 1825, came Nathaniel Leonard from Vermont to settle in the then frontier community;



and here, in 1839, he imported from Ohio the first pedigreed Shorthorn cattle ever brought into Missouri—indeed, the first west of the Mississippi river. Among the most interesting chapters in the book is that which gives in full the letters of Benjamin G. Leonard, a lawyer of Chillicothe, Ohio, to his brother Nathaniel, regarding the selection and purchase of this first Missouri importation of Shorthorns. These old letters, memoranda, and manuscript documents relating to the foundation of the now famous Ravenswood herd of Shorthorns were but recently found in the attic at Ravenswood and proved the inspiration for this interesting historical volume.

"Not only are these letters precious in their relations to the history of Shorthorn cattle breeding in America," says the author, "but they are also valuable as original documents associated with the general history of Missouri and Ohio." So, too, the entire volume. Mr. Ashton has interpreted his material well; his book is a noteworthy contribution to an important phase of the history of the Middle West in its infancy.

The book unfortunately lacks an index. A short but comprehensive bibliography is appended.

A word should be said in praise of the excellent format of the volume, which was printed in a limited edition of fifty by the E. W. Stephens publishing company of Columbia. The paper is a deckle-edged Old Stratford bond of fine quality and the type used is a clear fourteen point Caslon. The book is bound in red leather, with a title vignette of Ravenswood Farm and lettering in gold leaf. It is illustrated with twelve half-tone color plates.

#### DAVIESS COUNTY'S HALL OF FAME

(Reprinted from the *Gallatin* [Mo.] *Democrat*, December 21, 1926)

On last Tuesday evening at the Circuit court room the pictures presented to Daviess County, were accepted by the committee in charge. The presentation speech was

delivered by Hon. J. W. Alexander, and the address of acceptance was made by Hon. Boyd Dudley.

The C. of C. band was present and played several selections, and after the singing of America, Fred M. Harrison introduced the speakers.

The program was moving along nicely and the audience was giving an attentive ear to the address of Mr. Dudley, and when he was about half through the address, a fire alarm sounded and it was impossible to hold the audience.

Chas. L. Knauer presented the following resolutions of appreciation of Mr. Britton's contribution which were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, the Honorable Rollin J. Britton of Kansas City, has with great effort assembled and presented to the citizens of Gallatin and the people of Daviess County, a splendid gallery of pictures of inestimable value, of present and former residents of this community, going back to the days of its earliest settlement, which has just been accepted on behalf of the County and the people here assembled, and

"WHEREAS, it is the sense of this meeting that a proper expression of appreciation of the gift be made at this time:

"THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the citizens of Gallatin and Daviess County here assembled direct the chairman of this meeting to convey and express to Mr. Britton heartfelt thanks and the great appreciation of this community for his splendid contribution to the memory of those who founded and helped make a good place to live."

Below we give a list of the pictures as they appear in the groups.

Some former Daviess County citizens have gained distinction in public affairs, and their pictures were included in the Britton collection. Among them was James T. Farley, a clerk in a general store here in the 50s, who went to California, and later was elected to the United States Senate; Chester I. Long, reared in this county, but who later represented Kansas in the United States Senate and now is president of the American Bar Association. Another famous Kansan who formerly lived here was E. W. Howe, the Sage of Potato Hill.

Several present and former Kansas Citizens, are represented in the "hall of fame." Among them are:

W. T. Kemper, Webster Davis, who was an assistant secretary of the interior in the McKinley administration and mayor of Kansas City; Ed E. Yates, Robert G. Yates, George Tuggle, Henry C. McDougal, Charles A. Randall and Robert G. Sheets, a kinsman of Captain John Sheets, killed in the Gallatin bank robbery in 1869, allegedly done by the James boys.

Some of the lawyers represented are: James H. B. McFerran, William C. Gillihan, Harry K. Allen of Topeka, Kan., Thomas R. Shaw, William A. Hargis, William D. Hamilton, the prosecuting attorney when Frank James was tried here for the Winston train robbery; Colonel Dudley, Samuel P. Richardson, S. T. Brosius, J. A. Selby, William M. Rush, J. F. Hicklin, Nat. G. Cruzen, John A. Leopard, his son, John C. Leopard, and grandson, Dean Leopard, the present prosecutor-elect and Lewis B. Gillihan.

Some of the doctors are: John Cravens, W. H. Folmsbee, William M. Givens, W. E. Black, James T. Allen, George W. Brosius, W. L. Brosius, D. F. Hanna and A. F. McFarland.

The merchants' group includes Elwood M. Mann, Benton Miller, John H. Townsend, Samuel O. Venable, Geo. W. Miller, E. D. Mann, Joseph Minter, Robert L. Etter, Frank A. Fitterer and Oscar Fitterer.

The ministers include: Dr. Pope Yeaman, former president of the Grand River College, Rev. Z. M. Williams, president of the college at Lexington, Dr. O. L. Wood, and the Rev. Frank R. Gillihan.

Among the educators are: A. C. Burbank and Job G. McVeigh.

The editors occupy a conspicuous place in the "hall of fame." They include, David L. Kost, founder of the North Missourian in 1864, D. Harfield Davis, who with a newspaper merger in 1870, founded the Democrat; Harley W. Brundige, who later became prominent in newspaper and public life in California, William T. Sullivan, J. T. Day, Cliff M. Harrison, Louis Lampkin, Wes L. Robertson and Robert J. Ball.

The Democrat would be ungrateful if it did not acknowledge in these columns the service of Hon. Rollin J. Britton,

former Gallatin citizen, now a lawyer of Kansas City. Due to modesty Mr. Britton would not permit his photograph to be included in the group, but nevertheless his "labor of love" for his old home town and community is deeply appreciated and will not be forgotten. Rollin J. Britton is a most charming and unusual gentleman, and no one but Rollin J. Britton would have made possible a "Hall of Fame" for the old home town. None has taken a greater pride in the accomplishments and successes of the home town citizens than Mr. Britton, and the Missourian takes this opportunity on the behalf of the citizens of Daviess County to express to Mr. Britton its grateful appreciation of his unselfish service. Also other pictures which have been donated to the group are gratefully acknowledged, and to each and everyone who contributed to the happy program Tuesday evening. Probably most any town could have its "hall of fame," but Gallatin and Daviess County are justly proud of the men who make up its "Hall of Fame"—they are worthy of the name.

#### VOTING EFFICIENCY IN AMERICA

By Frank R. Kent in *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1925

Just a few weeks ago, figures compiled by Simon Michalet of Washington, a recognized authority on the subject, show the United States, in the matter of voting efficiency, practically at the very tail of the long list of civilized nations. In other words, the proportion of our population which goes to the polls and votes is less than that of nearly every other, with the exception of China.

England, France, Germany, Belgium, all the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland beat us all hollow. In Great Britain the percentage in the last election was 82. Most of the others are above 70. Ours was just a fraction over 50 per cent in 1924; just a fraction under 50 per cent in 1920. In 1924 there were three presidential candidates instead of two, and an enormous "get the vote out" drive was made by various nonpolitical organizations. In the

light of these circumstances, the showing was worse, not better, than four years before.

Forty years ago 80 per cent of the American voters went regularly to the polls and we were in the first column in point of voting efficiency. Now we are last. Even Mexico and the Latin-American countries, Mr. Michelet shows, equal us in voting efficiency—some of them exceed.

Latin-America, where they have to cope with an Indian and hybrid race illiteracy ranging from 40 to 80 per cent, and the United States are fairly even in this matter of voting. In the last Cuban election and in the recent Mexican election as close to 50 per cent of the qualified voting population was polled as in the United States in 1920. Cuba made twice as good a showing at the polls as did Florida, just across the Gulf Stream, and Mexico in the last presidential election delivered at the polls more than twice as high a percentage of its total adult population as the average for our Gulf states.

In the South the alibi is a negro population 15 to 20 per cent illiterate. Mexico has to wrestle with a 70 per cent illiteracy. Down in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Uruguay the vote averages slightly better than 65 per cent of the whole adult population.

#### HISTORICAL INFORMATION RELATING TO HENRY COUNTY

By Loyd Collins

Henry county ranks as one of the "banner counties" of the state, but very few historians have devoted any attention to its history. Henry county is situated about half way between the north and south borders of the state, and lies south of the Missouri river. People were drawn to the county from many sections by good land, the timbered sections and a liberal supply of minerals.

There are a number of towns of considerable importance in the county. Clinton, the county capital, named in honor of DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York, has a population of over 5,000. Among the other leading towns are: Windsor,

founded in 1855 and named for the home of Queen Victoria of England, Windsor Castle; Deepwater, founded by the Keith and Perry Coal Company, Kansas City, Missouri, was named for Deepwater creek near by; Montrose was laid out in 1870 by Brad Robinson for the M., K. & T. railroad company; Urich, founded in 1871, was named in honor of General Uhrich, a Frenchman, who so bravely defended Strasburg in 1870 against the Prussians; Calhoun, the oldest town in the county, was founded in 1835 and named in honor of the noted southern statesman, John C. Calhoun; Blairstown was laid out by a railroad company and named for the capitalist, John I. Blair.

There are eight small towns or villages in the county: Brownington, located in 1869, and laid out by William M. Doyle; Germantown, started in 1857; Shawnee Mound, founded about 1860; Norris Fork, founded in the spring of 1875, by Mr. B. T. Moore, who erected the first general store; Lewis Station, named for the pioneer, Howard Lewis; La Due, started in 1870 and named for a railroad official; Leesville, laid out in 1854 by A. J. Lee; and Coal, which was started in 1859, took its name after Coal's store.

Henry county has the largest production of baby chicks of any county in the United States, and more poultry products are handled here than in any county in the Mississippi Valley. Deepwater has the distinction of having the largest sewer tile factory in the world.

Some noted men and women, who have attained either state or national recognition, have been citizens of Henry county. Blanton G. Boone, statesman and lawyer, speaker of the state house of representatives and attorney-general of Missouri; James B. Gantt, lawyer, circuit judge and late chief justice of the Missouri supreme court; Uel W. Lamkin, one of the leading educators in the nation, high school teachers, county superintendent of public schools, former state superintendent of schools, and at present president of the Northwest Missouri State Teacher's College; Peyton A. Parks, lawyer, E. M. Violette, one of Missouri's noted historians, and for many years professor of history at

the Kirksville Missouri State Teacher's College; H. P. Faris, nominee of the prohibition party in 1924 for president of the United States; and C. C. Dickinson, congressman, are among those who have shed honor upon Henry county.

Henry county has had over a hundred years of interesting history, and nearly a full century of official history. The county was officially declared an independent municipal division of the state of Missouri, December 13, 1834, under the name of Rives County. It was named for Hon. John C. Rives, of Virginia. In 1840 Rives deserted the Democratic faith and became a Whig; so the staunch Democratic county of Rives became so disgusted that on Feb. 15, 1841, Rives county was changed to Henry county. The name Henry was given in honor of the loyal statesman of 1776, Patrick Henry.

We are truly proud of the achievements of the county during the twentieth century, but we should not forget the men and women who have made possible that which is ours today. They are entitled to a high and honored place in the pages of history.

One hundred years ago (1826) the first white men placed their feet on the soil of what is now Henry county. They were chiefly hunters and trappers and their names are not known.

The majority of the early settlers of this county came from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. They were true "trail blazers" and home makers. Champ Clark characterized the early Missouri pioneers as the "salt of the earth who crossed the Great River with a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other." A braver or more courageous race of people never lived. They were the cream of their age—the history-makers of Missouri.

In 1830 the first settlers came to Henry county. The following is a carefully compiled list of about one hundred of the first settlers to come to the county together with the dates of their coming and, when it could be found, the section of the country from whence they came:



1830—From Christian county, Kentucky,—James H. Arbuckle, Thomas Arbuckle, Matthew Arbuckle; from Kentucky,—Ismon Burnett; original home not known,—Thomas Kimsey, Littleberry Kimsey, John Kimsey.

1831—From Kentucky,—William Adair, Ezekiel Blevins, Rev. Thomas Keenley, James McWilliams, William Simpson; from Christian county, Kentucky,—Drury Palmer; from Tennessee,—Henry Avery, John Nave; from Howard county, Missouri,—Thomas Collins; original home not known,—Joseph Bogarth, Mrs. Mary A. Palmer, William B. Price, Fielding A. Prinnell, William Swift, Isaac Swift, James B. Sears, W. P. Sissel, Sarah Collins Young.

1832—From Kentucky,—Thomas Anderson, William H. Anderson, Obediah Austin, J. T. Berry, Francis Parazette, Alfred Reid, Abraham Wiley; from Virginia, Joseph Fields, C. C. Sharp, John F. Sharp; from Tennessee,—James Nash, George W. Walker, Pleasant Walker; from Cooper county, Missouri,—James T. Barker; from Christian county, Kentucky,—I. N. Hughes, J. A. Hughes, Robert Means, Sr., Joseph Means, C. F. Stevenson; from Howard county, Missouri,—Robert D. Means; original home not known,—Preston Blevins, George Bounds, John Barker, John Buchanan, William Goff, Andrew Goff, William Gladden, Robert Gladden, Benjamin Goodin, Amos H. Goodin, Abner Martin, George W. Martin, Barker Martin, John N. Owsley, James Woodard, John Woodard.

1833—From Virginia,—J. V. Avery, James W. Fields; from Kentucky,—Richard Wade; from Tennessee,—Mrs. M. T. East; from Campbell, Tenn.,—Daniel Chitwood; from Howard county, Missouri,—W. H. Ham; original home not known,—George Anderson, James Anderson, Isaac Anderson, Claiborne Anderson, H. P. Fewell, Henry Trolinger, A. C. Legg, Mrs. J. G. Organ.

1834—From Virginia,—Philip Cecil, Polly Cecil, Nathan F. Fields; from Kentucky,—Samuel D. Garth, Mrs. Ernie Garth; from Christian county, Kentucky,—Mrs. R. B. Means; original home not known,—William Bricker, William D. Organ.

1835—From Virginia,—A. M. Brown; from Madison county, Virginia,—Mark J. Fink, Abner Fink; from Caroline county, Virginia,—W. C. George; from Missouri,—Mrs. S. A. Goff, William Parks; from Howard county, Missouri,—H. T. Douglas; from Lincoln county, Kentucky,—Mrs. C. P. Douglas; original home not known,—John Greenup, J. B. Wallace, B. F. Wallace.

Rev. Henry Avery was one of the most noted of Henry county pioneers. "The reverend gentleman was as quaint a character as one might find in all the pages of Missouri history. He was a rugged, stalwart personage that stood above his fellows even in the days when a man had to be rugged

and stalwart if he expected to wrest a living from the wilderness. But he was more than plain pioneer. He not only endured all that such a life included, but he set for himself an additional task, that of a missionary both to white and red men."

Shortly after the close of the war with Mexico the news came that gold had been discovered in California. This caused the wildest excitement everywhere and people at once started to rush "to the land of gold." It was a long and dangerous trip in those pioneer days, but thousands went. Quite a number of the citizens went West in the search for gold. A complete list of those going from this county cannot be compiled, but a partial list follows which is nearly complete:

To California in 1849: John W. Williams, Major S. M. Peeler, Samuel Garth, Richard Taylor, John Slavens, H. B. Witherspoon, Samuel Burnside, Bird D. Parks, Israel Putnam, John R. Gilmore, Isaac Cunningham, George East, John William Thornton, George W. Squires, Benjamin McDaniel, Samuel McDaniel, T. C. Davis, James Witherspoon, Dr. Edward Royston, Samuel January, Samuel K. Williams, John Peeler, John Garth, Benjamin Barker, George Slavens, Porter Bone, John R. Tennison, Monroe Duncan, Rufus Putnam, Aaron Cunningham, Captain Gillette, Nathan East, James Kimsey, John Wilson, James Davis, Free Nichols, John Henry Royston, Michael Gillette, Peter January, Thomas Collins and Con Fisher. The following died on the way: John Sweeney, Charles Sweeney, and David Ross died on Green River. The following died in California: James P. Pinnell, Ward Drake, Walker Wallace, Wash. Ashby and Charles Drake.

In 1934 Henry county will be one hundred years old and there should be a centennial celebration to commemorate this interesting and historical event, for the history of Henry county has always shed honor on the great state of Missouri of which it is a part.

#### PERSONALS

Charles Clafin Allen: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, July 25, 1855; died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 18, 1927. He was educated in Washington and Princeton universities and St. Louis Law School, and in 1877 was admitted to the

bar. He was a member of the Missouri House of Representatives during 1881-82. He was associate city counselor of St. Louis from 1895 to 1891, and circuit judge from 1907 to 1913. In 1895 he was president of the St. Louis Bar Association. He was a lecturer on medical jurisprudence at the St. Louis Medical College, and was one of the organizers and a past president of the Civil Service Reform Association. He was also the author of the song "The New America," and other patriotic verse.

Joseph Andriano: Born in Heidelberg, Germany, October 15, 1841; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, July 30, 1926. He came to this country with his parents in 1848 and settled in St. Louis. He later moved to St. Joseph, and while a resident there served one term as sheriff of Buchanan county.

Philip B. Askins: Born in Carroll county, Arkansas, January 29, 1851, died near Aurora, Missouri, August 16, 1925. He came to Lawrence county, Missouri, in the early 70's. He was judge of the Lawrence county court for two terms.

John Spencer Barton: Born in Monroe county, Missouri, June 10, 1849; died near Oak Bridge, April 5, 1926. He was educated in the common schools of Shelby county. He served two terms as associate judge of the county court of Shelby county.

O. S. Barton: Died in Kansas City, Missouri, August 27, 1925. At one time he served as prosecuting attorney of Howard county. He was the author of *Three Years With Quantrill*.

T. M. Bresnahan: Born in Brookfield, Missouri, April 16, 1860; died in Brookfield, Missouri, January 27, 1926. He was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1882, and was admitted to the bar four years later. In 1890 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Linn county, and served for four consecutive terms. He was postmaster of Brookfield from 1912 to 1920.

MARION BROWN: Born in Brocton, Illinois, in 1842; died in Carthage, Missouri, March 12, 1926. He came to

Jasper county in 1888, and served as probate judge of that county from 1898 to 1902.

**ALEXANDER J. BURROWS:** Born in St. Louis, Missouri, October 14, 1853, died in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 19, 1927. He entered the Jesuit Order in 1873, and after his ordination taught in St. Louis University and other Jesuit colleges throughout the country. In 1910 he became president of Loyola University at Chicago, and two years later was chosen as president of St. Louis University. In 1913 he became Provincial of the Missouri Province of the Jesuit Order and held this position for six years. At the termination of his service as Provincial he became president of Marquette University at Milwaukee, later resigning to accept a similar position at St. Stanislaus College, Brooklyn, Ohio.

**JESSE CHILD:** Born in Richmond, Virginia, March 14, 1860; died in Richmond, Missouri, December 1, 1925. He was educated at Worcester, Massachusetts and Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Following his graduation from college in 1884 he came to Missouri, where he taught school for two years. In 1885 he was admitted to the bar. His uncle, Col. Jacob T. Child, was appointed minister to Siam by President Cleveland, and Jesse Child was appointed secretary of the legation, remaining in Siam for six years. Returning to Missouri he engaged in business until his death. For many years he was a director of the S. W. Lumber Dealers' Association.

**ROBERT C. CLARK:** Born near Fayette, Missouri, June 1, 1846; died in Fayette, Missouri, December 21, 1926. He attended the public schools of Howard county, and in 1865 went to Stewarts' Commerical College in St. Louis. After serving as clerk on a Missouri river steamboat for some time, he returned to Fayette and studied law in the office of his father, General John B. Clark. In 1869 Mr. Clark was admitted to the bar. He served for two terms as prosecuting attorney of Howard county, and was city attorney of Fayette for two terms. Under the administration of Governors Folk and Major he served as superintendent of the State Reformatory at Boonville. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**M. W. COTTON:** Born in Reynolds county, Missouri, May 10, 1847; died in Doniphan, Missouri, March 7, 1926. He served in the Confederate forces during the Civil War. In 1886 he was elected assessor of Ripley county. In 1890 he was elected probate judge of that county, and was re-elected in 1894 and 1898. In 1908 he was elected judge of the Ripley county court and served for two terms. In 1918 he was again elected probate judge.

**H. P. DAWES:** Born in Lawrence county, Michigan, November 12, 1846; died in Willow Springs, Missouri, September 13, 1925. He moved to Willow Springs in 1888 and later became editor of the *Willow Springs Republican*. He served one term as probate judge of Howell county.

**JOHN MOSES DAWSON:** Born in Clark county, Missouri, died in Kahoka, Missouri, November 20, 1924. At the time of his death he was nearly fifty-five years of age. He was educated at LaGrange College, LaGrange, Missouri, and after his graduation he began teaching school. In 1894 he took up the practice of law. During the administration of Governor Elliot W. Major he served as assistant attorney general of Missouri.

**PHILIP DEUSER:** Born in Prussia, December 31, 1846; died in St. Louis county, June 27, 1926. In 1852 he came to the United States with his parents who settled in St. Louis. In 1888 he was elected judge of the St. Louis county court, and in 1890 was re-elected. In 1900 he was elected county treasurer of St. Louis county.

**ALEXANDER M. DOCKERY:** Born in Daviess county, Missouri, February 11, 1845; died in Gallatin, Missouri, December 26, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of Daviess county, Macon Academy, and St. Louis Medical School. Following his graduation he attended lectures at Bellevue College, New York City, and Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. From 1866 to 1874 he practiced medicine at Chillicothe, Missouri, and then moved to Gallatin where he became a bank cashier. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, and was a member of this body for sixteen years. In 1900 he was elected governor of Missouri and served from 1901 to 1905. He served during the ad-

ministration of President Wilson as third assistant postmaster general. His retirement at the end of President Wilson's second term marked the end of his active public life. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**THEODORE CLINTON EMERSON.** Born in Clinton, North Carolina, August 24, 1862; died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 13, 1926. He came to Liberty, Missouri, in 1873, being graduated from William Jewell College in 1880. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1890. He served as representative from Clay county for two terms.

**DAVID R. FRANCIS:** Born in Richmond, Kentucky, October 1, 1850; died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 15, 1927. He moved to St. Louis in 1866 and in 1870 was graduated from Washington University. Starting his career as a clerk he later became president of a grain merchant's corporation. He was elected mayor of St. Louis in 1886, and two years later was elected governor of Missouri. In 1896 he was appointed secretary of the interior by President Cleveland. He was later elected president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company which conducted the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904. When he went to Europe in 1905 as representative of the company to thank foreign nations he was decorated by the emperors of Germany and Austria and the queen of the Netherlands. In the early part of the world war he conducted relief work among German and Austrian prisoners in Russia. He was appointed as American ambassador to Russia in 1916, and was the first diplomatic representative of any country officially to recognize the republic set up by Kerensky. He was owner of the *St. Louis Republic* at the time of its sale in 1919 to the *Globe-Democrat*.

**J. B. HANCOCK:** Born in Russell county, Kentucky, January 11, 1864; died in Newtonia, Missouri, February 14, 1926. He was educated in Newtonia Academy, Newtonia, and the Missouri Medical College. He began the practice of medicine in 1886. He served one term as representative from Newton county.

J. W. LeCOMPTE: Born in Macon county, Missouri, June 18, 1848; died in Cassville, Missouri, May 19, 1926. In 1872 he was elected sheriff of Barry county. In 1874 he was appointed county collector of Barry county by Governor Woodson. He held this office until 1879, at which time he was appointed county treasurer.

WILLIAM M. LUMPKIN: Born in Tennessee, September 27, 1832; died in Eldon, Missouri, October 6, 1925. He came to Miller county, Missouri, with his parents in 1837. The early part of his life was spent in teaching school in Miller county. He was the founder of the Miller County Institute at Spring Garden. He served one term as prosecuting attorney of Miller county, and also one term as school commissioner of that county.

CHARLES W. McANINCH: Born in Casey county, Kentucky, March 5, 1849; died near Hughesville, Missouri, June 22, 1926. He came to Missouri early in life, and was educated at Georgetown Academy. He served as presiding judge of the Pettis county court from 1906 to 1914. He also served one term as representative from Pettis county. He was at one time treasurer of the Missouri State Fair Board.

WILLIAM M. MEYERSIECK: Born in Union, Missouri, August 26, 1869; died in Union, Missouri, December 24, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of his native city. In 1896 he was elected representative from Saline county. Two years later he was elected circuit clerk of Saline county.

CHARLES LINCOLN MOULDER: Born in Shelby county, Illinois, February 22, 1865; died in Breckenridge, Missouri, August 26, 1925. When about twenty-one years of age he became owner and editor of the Breckenridge *Bulletin*. He sold this paper and later became editor of the Braymer *Comet*. In 1897 he was appointed postmaster of Braymer, and he held this position until 1912. In 1900 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia.



**CHARLES R. PENCE:** Born in Miami county, Indiana, July 3, 1858; died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 12, 1927. He was a graduate of Yale, receiving his A. B. degree in 1879, and was admitted to the bar at Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1882. Later he was prosecuting attorney in Miami county. He came to Kansas City in 1889 and entered the practice of law. In 1920 he was elected circuit judge of Jackson county. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**HENRY J. PRIEST:** Born near Stoutsville, Missouri, January 25, 1842; died in New London, Missouri, January 10, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of Ralls county. During the Civil war he served as a member of the Confederate forces. In 1899 he was elected presiding judge of the Ralls County Court, and he held this office for sixteen years.

**HENRY SCHOTT:** Born in Leavenworth, Kansas, June 11, 1873; died in New York City, November 27, 1926. He was educated in the University of Kansas, and then began work on the Leavenworth *Times*. In 1897 he accepted a position with the Kansas City *Star*. He held the positions of telegraph editor, Sunday editor, city editor, and night editor, successively. He held the latter position until 1911, at which time he resigned to enter the advertising business. From 1915 until 1921 he was connected with the Montgomery Ward Company, of Chicago. He again entered the advertising business. Two years later he served as European correspondent of *The Nation's Business*. Following his return to this country he was associate editor of this publication for six months. He then resigned to re-enter advertising for the West Coast Lumbermen's Association.

**MASON STEWART:** Born in Ray county, Missouri, July 4, 1846; died near Princeton, Missouri, March 19, 1926. He came to Mercer county in 1851, and was educated in the public schools of that county. He began teaching school soon after his graduation. During the civil war he served in the Union army. For a time he was deputy circuit clerk but was later elected assessor of Mercer county.

J. N. TAYLOR: Born in 1838; died March 15, 1926, at Cuba, Missouri. He was a veteran of the Civil War, and took part in the battles of Springfield and Wilson's Creek. He served as judge of the county court of Crawford county.

C. J. WRIGHT: Born in Lake county, Tennessee; died in Chicago, Illinois, December 10, 1925. He was educated in the Peabody State Normal School, at Nashville, Tennessee. He later studied law at Cumberland University from which he was graduated in 1884. In 1887 he moved to Springfield, Missouri. He served one term as representative from Greene county, and was at one time president of the Greene County Bar Association.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### FIRST CIRCUS IN LINN COUNTY

From the *Brookfield Gazette*, May 1, 1915.

It was in the summer of 1857 that the first circus arrived to gladden the eyes of Linn county people, or for that matter, traveled across North Missouri. The show was one famous in its day—Levi J. North's Great National Circus, and, besides the regulation animals and performers, carried a real, honest-to-goodness steam calliope.

The circus had traveled up the Missouri river by steamboat to St. Joseph and had then struck out across country to Hannibal. The show pitched its tents at Linneus, the county seat, and showed to a big crowd but it was at Bucklin (then Bucklinville) that the real multitude gathered. People came on horseback, on foot, in covered wagons. Many, determined to be on time, came several days ahead and camped on the grounds. They came from Keytesville, from Brunswick, and from all along the right-of-way of the Hannibal St. Joe Railroad, which was then in process of construction. In spite of the slow methods of travel, lack of newspapers and telephones the management of the circus had spread the news of its coming and it was the principal subject of conversation and comment around the mighty open fireplace for weeks before and for months afterward. It is very probable that Levi J. North was then and there regarded as a much bigger man than one James Buchanan, the President of the United States.

### THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF ST. JOSEPH

From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, August 31, 1926.

That the earliest white men to visit the present site of St. Joseph were the remnant of a Welsh colony established in 1080 in northern Florida or southern Carolina, is the contention of George Y. Hull, a teacher in the Y. M. C. A. night school, and a student in archaeology, who spoke at the luncheon of the Co-operative Club today noon at the St. Francis Hotel. The speaker made a number of statements about northwest Missouri which he said have been discovered through research by noted historians.

The Welsh colony, he said, was cut off from the home land a short time after it was established in America and later began to cross the country. It has been learned, he said, the colonists stopped at Black-snake Creek, and the contention is partly borne out, he holds, through the finding of a skeleton of a man with yellow hair on King Hill. The speaker traced the movements of the people until they became lost in the Indian colonies from whence evolved a tribe with blue and gray eyes and yellowish

hair. This tribe was wiped out by disease and the Sioux Indians before research had brought out a great deal of evidence that it was descended from the Europeans.

Beginning his talk with the glacial age, estimated at 50,000 years ago, Mr. Hull said that this portion of the continent was under two miles of ice and that its recession resulted in the formation of a tremendous river which coursed southward across the country. It is thought that the stream came through this section of the country and Mr. Hull said that it was his belief that the great bluffs along the present course of the Missouri River were islands and banks of the stream.

"We are not sure that the country was inhabited that far back," he said, "but the evidence tends to show that there probably was human life on the continent shortly after the glacial epoch. Stone implements have been found that may have been lost by hunters of that time."

Going into the history of King Hill and the many relics that have been found there, he said that the mound had been named for John King, a California gold miner who was murdered by Indians. He had returned from the coast, laden with gold nuggets, and nuggets since found on the hill were attributed to the hoard of King. His body was buried on the summit of the mound the speaker said.

"King Hill was the scene of a terrible battle during the time that the vicinity of St. Joseph was known to the Indians as Paradise. The Wyandotte Indians were barricaded in their village atop the hill when they were attacked by the Sacs and Foxes. Although the country around was regarded as sacred ground the battle was waged as the result of the Wyandottes refusing hospitality to the tribe after a long journey from the East. All of the men killed in the battle were buried in three graves on the hill and when streets were put through in South St. Joseph these graves were unearched. Many relics were found."

#### THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, MISSOURI

By Douglass Stewart, in the *Chillicothe Daily Constitution*, January 19, 1927.

Draper in his *Philosophical History of the Civil War*, speaking of the battle between General Mulligan of the Union forces and Price of the Confederates, at Lexington, Missouri, says: "Price made repeated attempts to capture Lexington without success, until August 29th (?), when his men contrived a moveable breastwork of hemp bales, that were stored on the wharf, which they rolled before them as they advanced and compelled Mulligan, who had been twice wounded, to surrender unconditionally." "Next came Mulligan his horse was wolly; but he soon found out that he couldn't lick the 'Bully' " (Price).

On July 4th, 1926, in a talk with the writer, Alexander (Dick) House, now 88 years old, of Livingston county, Missouri, who took part in that battle—he served under Price—said that the Confederates were not

gaining ground until they took hemp bales which they wet in the Missouri, and then rolled these bales before them up the hill, capturing Lexington.

When asked why the Confederates first wet the bales in the river, he replied, "So they would not take fire after being shot into." Surely history repeats itself. Mulligan could say: "I looked toward the river and anon me thought the earth began to move." ("I looked toward Birnam and anon, me thought the wood began to move".)

I have information that Captain W. H. Mansur, who took part in that battle and who is still living in Chillicothe, Missouri, was the one that first suggested the use of the hemp bales for breastworks.

#### THE ROMANCE OF THE HOTEL INDUSTRY

By H. A. Hartwig, in the Greater St. Louis Exposition Souvenir Edition of *Greater St. Louis*, September 4-19, 1926.

....."At the time of the transfer of the Province of Louisiana to the United States (history records it as the Louisiana Purchase), April 30, 1803, there were two little, thatched-roof cottages owned by Frenchmen, one whose name was Yostic, the other named Laudreville, who devoted their house facilities to wayfarers, chief among which were *courriers du bois* (hunters), and *voyageurs* (boatmen of the Mississippi). Both of these "taverns" were situated on the corners of Main and Locust streets, one across from the other.

Among the earliest taverns of which there is any record is the old Missouri Hotel. Major Wm. Christy (one of the first of the now prominent Christy family) took over in 1805 the Government Mansion on the southwest corner of Main and Walnut Streets and for three years ran what was probably the only hotel in St. Louis. In 1808 he sold the tavern to Major Richard Webster, who changed the name to Eagle Tavern. In 1810 Major Christy bought it back and renamed it Missouri Hotel. It continued under this name until 1816 when a Thomas Pobelles bought it and changed its name to Union Hall.

Between these years, 1805-1816, several other taverns were opened in St. Louis but with the exception of one, history reveals no outstanding features of interest to our readers. However, it is well to make mention of them, if for no other reason than that of their geographical location.

In September, 1809, James H. Audrain opened the Grove Tavern on upper Main Street, directly opposite the residence of P. Chouteau.

Frederic Weber, a baker, in 1811, announced to his friends the opening of his tavern which he would like to have his friends and travelers in general consider the house of entertainment. There is no record of a name being given other than Weber's House.

The Green Tree Tavern was opened to the public in 1816, by Hugh C. Davis. The tavern was located on Main and Second Streets. John Simonds, Jr., bought it in 1820.

About this time hotels, or taverns as they were still called, became more numerous in St. Louis. The Mansion House opened during this year. Three years later George S. Greene bought it and changed the name to City Hotel. Years later, in 1840, Theron Barnum came to St. Louis, and, looking around for a good hotel to buy, took over this hotel and ran it for twelve years.

Joseph Charless had been editing his newspaper, the *Missouri Gazette*, for twelve long years, always living up to his slogan, "Truth Without Fear." This policy necessitated the carrying of a heavy walking stick and not infrequently was "ye editor" seen on the street, dodging bullets from the pistol of some outraged citizen who had received a "truth without fear" notice in the press. In 1821 Mr. Charless decided that the hotel business was, by far, less hazardous. Accordingly, in the next issue of the *Gazette* there appeared the following notice which is the first printed hotel advertisement on record in Missouri:

#### JOSEPH CHARLESS

informs the gentlemen who visit in St. Louis and travelers generally that he has opened a house for their reception at the corner of Fifth Street on the Public Square of St. Louis, where, by the moderate charges and attention to the comfort of his guests, he will endeavor to merit general approbation.

Boarding and lodging, per week.....	\$4.50
Boarding only.....	3.50
Boarding only, less than a week, per meal.....	.25
Lodging per night in separate bed.....	.25
Where two occupy one bed.....	.12½

The State Paper of Missouri and Illinois may be taken at a fair discount.

Mr. Charless then retired from "strenuous" journalism and devoted his entire time to his tavern. In later years he helped organize several prominent hotel ventures, the most outstanding of which was the historical Planters Hotel.

Identified with the vocation of hotel keeping in the early St. Louis days are the names of some of the best known and most highly esteemed first families in the State's history. Taverns in these days were opened for "accommodation and entertainment" in the true sense of the word. These pioneers of the hotel industry established the reputation for hospitality which St. Louis has never lost. Seated about the wide-mouthed, friendly fireplaces, the host and his family visited, after supper, with the wayfarers, the men in animated discussion, over their long-stemmed clay pipes, about politics, trading, trapping, etc., while the "women-folks" sat silently by, knitting and listening to interesting tales of the other states, told by the travelers.

Here also in these early taverns, court sessions were held, counties and towns were organized and political caucuses held. In brief, St. Louis taverns were the centers of all public affairs during these pioneer decades and it is history that in no other state in the union has the tavern played so important a part in government building as in Missouri.

The first hotel of any outstanding historical prominence in St. Louis was the "New" Missouri Hotel, built in 1819, fourteen years after the advent of the first Missouri Hotel, by John McKnight and Thomas Brady. It was a quaint, two-story structure, built along the old French lines, with its steep shingled roof studded here and there with dormer windows. Several years after its opening Brady bought out his partner and operated it along profitable lines until his death. Major Thomas Biddle then ran it for a number of years. He built additions to the building, sent to the East for a professional hotel-keeper who inaugurated conveniences the like of which had never before been heard of in the West. In October, 1831, Major Biddle fought a duel with Spencer Pettis, in which he was killed. During the next two-score years the hotel changed ownership eight times and was finally torn down to make room for the "large" Christian Peper tobacco factory.

In the fifty-four years of its reign this hotel was the scene of many historical incidents. Here the grand state of Missouri was born, for here it was, in 1820, that the first legislature that met under the State Constitution convened. Here were the first Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Missouri sworn into office and here they delivered their inaugural addresses. Here David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were elected the first Missouri Senators to the United States Senate. And here, also, every St. Louis society function of any prominence was held and was attended by all the social elect of St. Louis and Missouri.

\* \* \* \* \*

How many of the St. Louis citizens of today know of the early trials and tribulations of the old Southern Hotel, the second edition of which now stands, vacant, on the block bounded by Broadway, Fourth, Walnut and Elm Streets.

The desire for fine, large hotels was as much apparent in the old days as it is today and early in 1857 public spirited citizens got together in an effort to build the finest and largest hotel in this part of the continent. It did not take long to purchase a site and to excavate and build the cellar walls—but, then the scheme languished. Two years later it was seriously proposed, in order to get back the money invested, to divide the property into lots and to sell them. This was not done, however, and the following year, 1860, the company obtained an act, through the legislature, exempting the property from city and county taxation for a period of ten years. This infused new life into the project, and the hotel was finally completed. On December 6th, 1865, the proprietors, Messrs. Theodore Laveille, Chas. P. Warner, and George W. Ford, opened the hotel officially with a grand ball. It was indeed a grand affair and was attended by all of St. Louis society folks. Seven months after the opening the hotel was sold



to Col. Robt. Campbell. Eight months after the new proprietor had taken over the management—early in the morning of April 10, 1877—the building caught fire and was quickly enveloped in flames. A few hours later there remained of the Southern Hotel nothing but a blackened mass of crumbling walls—a ghastly memento of this awful disaster that took fifteen lives as its toll. The firemen put up a brave fight but all to no avail. Grand Masonic Secretary of Missouri, George Frank Gouly, being trapped on one of the upper floors, climbed out and hung on the ledge of the window sill but before the firemen could reach him with ladders he was overcome by smoke and fell to the ground. He was killed instantly. Mike Hefter, the assistant fire chief, was the hero of the day. Without regard for his own life he rushed into the burning building repeatedly, emerging each time with a human form which had been overcome by smoke perhaps but still breathing the breath of life.

JOSEPH LABARGE

From the *Kansas City Star*, November 27, 1926. Reprinted from "Mississippi Steamboating" by Herbert and William Quick.

Of all the steamboat men who helped to tame this last wild stretch none was better known or more highly regarded than Joseph LaBarge, pilot, captain and owner, who spent virtually his whole life on the river. LaBarge was a man of resource, a jaunty, soft-voiced Frenchman, who mingled good sense with a lack of fear; a representative type of the steamboatmen of those days.

Once an inexperienced, but somewhat cocksure traveler was walking the deck with LaBarge as the boat approached a town.

"Captain," asked the traveler, "what town is this?"

"This, sir, is Independence," answered the captain. The traveler consulted a map he carried, prepared by more or less reliable geographers for sale to emigrants, and watched with interest the landing of the boat.

Some time later they approached another town. "Captain," asked the traveler, "what town is this we are coming to?"

"This is Westport," answered the captain.

The traveler examined his map. "Captain," he said, "are you sure you are right about these towns? This map says Westport is below Independence, and we are going up. Are you sure that wasn't Westport we passed and this is Independence."

"Sir, I have navigated this river a long time," said LaBarge. "Ever since there been towns, that one been Independence and this one Westport." And the captain walked away to attend to the business of landing. But he could not forget the reflection on his knowledge of river geography. Some days later the boat encountered a great flock of wild geese. The traveler with the map came running to the captain. "Captain," he cried, "what are those big birds?"

The captain glared. "Look at your damn map," he said, "maybe he tell you."

## FIRST TRAIN TO SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

By Allan Hinchey, in the Cape Girardeau *Community*, September, 1926.

The eleventh day of May, 1858, was an important day in Southeast Missouri, as it marked the completion of the first railway running south from St. Louis into this district.

On that day there was celebrated the completion of the Iron Mountain railway from St. Louis to Pilot Knob. The railroad management gave an excursion trip and invited state and municipal dignitaries to their "Grand Opening."

The train consisted of several flat cars and a coach—one which would be considered a very crude affair in these days of palatial cars of steel frames and mahogany finish.

The train left the St. Louis terminal at Plum street, near the Mississippi river, early in the morning for the trip of 86 miles to Pilot Knob, it requiring all day and most of the following night to complete the round trip.

Along the bluffs south of St. Louis the little wood-burning engine snorted and puffed, through the village of Carondelet, on past Jefferson Barracks, around the bluffs at Cliff Cave, over the wooden bridge spanning the Meramec river, on into the rolling lands of Jefferson county until the Ozarks were reached at DeSoto and the tunnel at the summit of Vineland hill was penetrated.

It was a great occasion, this "Grand Opening" of the Iron Mountain railroad, and its builder, Thomas Allen, was a proud man.

With President Allen of the railway company there rode in the coach representatives of the state administration and of the city of St. Louis, with a limited number of other aristocrats. On the flat cars rode the lesser folk, who when they became tired of standing had the privilege of sitting on the deck of the open cars, where the flying cinders from the wood-burning engine often caused them to neglect the beauties of the scenery through which they passed.

Those who ride in the comfortable coaches of the Iron Mountain branch of the Missouri Pacific railway today, pulled by giant engines, can have little idea of that initial trip. As one leans back in his cushioned seat he can have no mental picture of the rough board seats of that first coach, nor of the discomforts of a seat on the deck of a flat car.

But it was a great experience to those who had been invited to the "Grand Opening"—an experience that furnished a topic for conversation for many days afterward. And there was a thrill about it that the blase traveler of today never enjoys—the thrill of untried experience, with unknown dangers menacing, yet holding out the charm that comes to those who pioneer in any movement.

Air brakes were undreamed of in those days, so when a stop was to be made the trainmen hastened to their posts and wound up the handbrakes.

The cars were connected by links and pins, with two feet of "slack" at each coupling, which caused much shaking up of passengers when the train stopped or started. When a stop was made the "slack" was jerked out so roughly that all were hurled backward. But even at that, it was a great experience.

Ice in the summer months was an unknown luxury in those times, but the trainmen did their best for the comfort of their passengers by making frequent stops at springs along the route so that the water barrel might be filled. A stop for engine wood was made near Cliff Cave and stops were made about every ten miles for the same purpose. Fresh water for the barrel was taken on at Cliff Cave, at Sulphur Springs, Blackwell and other points. After each replenishment of the barrel a boy passed water among the passengers, carrying it in a large pail with a dipper to drink from.

#### BLUEGRASS IN MACON COUNTY

From the *Macon Republican*, August 6, 1926.

"Who brought the first Kentucky bluegrass to Missouri, when, and where?" is a question asked by Jewell Mayes, of the State Board of Agriculture, in the interesting form letter he sends weekly to the county newspapers.

Probably many counties in the state will claim the distinction of being the first to develop Kentucky bluegrass, and will include the enterprising pioneer who imported it.

The late Captain William Smith of Clark county, Kentucky, came to Missouri with a party of fellow Kentuckians in 1839, and took up land south of where the town of Macon went on the map many years later. The county was pretty much of a wilderness, forest and wild prairie grass.

Other Kentuckians who had preceded Captain Smith and his fellow settlers showed signs of homesickness. Captain Smith was not long in finding out what was the matter with them—they pined for the bluegrass meadows of the native state, and nothing in these parts looked good to them.

But Captain Smith had made up his mind to stay, and he intended his Kentucky friends should stay with him. So he yoked up the oxen and drove back to Kentucky for a load of bluegrass seed. The seed were sewed up in the largest "bed tick" he could find, brought back to Missouri and distributed among the Kentucky exiles.

Captain Smith said on his way back to Missouri he passed through the village of St. Louis. There an early day real estate boomer offered to sell him a big slice of the town for \$1,200, telling him that one of these days St. Louis would be quite a town and his investment would make him wealthy.

"And I had the money," said Captain Smith regretfully, "but the bargain didn't strike me."

In a few years Captain Smith's bluegrass seed became pretty well distributed and the land in those parts began to look more home like to the Kentuckians. Later Captain Smith made another trip to Kentucky, and brought back with him not only another "tick" full of bluegrass seed, but a drove of Shorthorn cattle and some Cotswold sheep, which he said was the first he knew of in Northeast Missouri.

Kentuckians in other counties asked for some of Captain Smith's bluegrass seed. Thus the whole northeast section assumed the velvety appearance that had made Kentucky so famous, until now it is said Missouri has more bluegrass land than Kentucky.

Captain Smith's first importation of bluegrass seed was in the year 1839, two years after Macon county had been organized by Act of the Legislature.

The settlers lived in small settlements, and sometimes in log cabins off to themselves. But those from the same state were almost daily in touch with each other, and in times of trouble they acted together as a band. Captain Smith, the ancestor of wellknown people in Macon, said his bluegrass seed were the first he knew of as having been brought here from Kentucky, and his name was always connected with that event in these parts. The Captain was a strong, vigorous man in his prime, with a luxuriant beard, keen-eyed and fearless, a typical pioneer. He lived to be 92 years of age.

#### CAPTAIN JOHN NELSON

From the *Fayette Missouri Democrat*, October 15, 1845.

The Louisville papers announce the death of Capt. John Nelson, of that city, in the 80th year of his age. He was in the Revolutionary War, and was in active service during some of the most important conflicts. He commanded the first steamboat that ever ascended the Missouri river—some twenty-five years since. The citizens of old Franklin, in this county, gave him a public dinner, in token of respect for the enterprise and arduousness of the task he had accomplished. What a change since then! So common have they become now, that the puffing of a steamboat on the Missouri, scarcely arrests the attention of the urchins at play on the bank. And old Franklin, then the largest town above St. Louis, exists now but in name!

#### A SPANISH ARMY MASSACRED IN MISSOURI

From the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, June 3, 1898.

Capt. C. C. Clay, of Sedalia, believes that he has found in this state the exact spot where an expedition of Spaniards, which left Santa Fe, N. M., in 1719, was massacred by Missouri Indians. Tradition has long held that this massacre took place on the Missouri river. Capt. Clay is sure of it, and says that the camp of the Spaniards was in Saline county

one mile north and a quarter of a mile west of the railway depot at Malta Bend.

The fate of this expedition has long been one of the romances of early Spanish history in the southwest. While most of the old histories refer to it, the references are usually so vague that they are of little historical value. Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois* speaks of it, and Charlevoix, in his narratives, tells of having obtained relics of a great massacre of Spaniards, "which took place in the north." The start from Santa Fe was made during the governorship of Valverde. It is maintained by some authorities that the party was headed by Capt. Villasur, who was in search of the Pananas or Pawnees, to chastise them for depredations upon Spanish explorers. His command was attacked at night by Indians, who were armed with guns which they had obtained from the French. Most of the Spaniards, including Viceroy P. Juan Mingues and the French guide, were killed. It is declared by others that Capt. Villasur's party is not the one which was destroyed in Missouri.

It is more generally believed that the victims of this great slaughter were members of a colonizing expedition. The Spaniards had grown jealous of the commercial encroachments of the French in the Mississippi valley. The Missouri tribe of Indians were leagued with the French. The Spaniards purposed to effect a treaty with the Osage Indians and induce the latter to annihilate the Missouris, and thus weaken the power of the French. The doing of this was entrusted to the Spaniards who left Santa Fe in the spring of 1719. There were 1,500 persons, including men, women and children, in the long caravan that took up its march toward the northwest, a land of savages and wild beasts. Five hundred men capable of bearing arms afforded military protection.

The march toward the country of the Osages consumed the greater part of the summer. The level prairies of Kansas were more easily traveled than the rougher country farther east. The guides failed to veer sufficiently eastward, with the result that the expedition missed the Osages and struck the Kaw river, in Kansas. The latter was followed to the Missouri river, down which they marched until they reached what they supposed was the camp of the Osage Indians. Unfortunately, however, the Indians were the Missouris. It is somewhat incredible, but the story runs that the Spaniards did not suspect their mistake, and confided their bloody plans to the very Indians whom they intended to destroy. The latter were wily enough not to betray themselves, but set about secretly to dispatch their enemies. The Spaniards were attacked at night. Only one of all the expedition escaped death. This one person was a priest, who is said to have fled on a horse. After great privation he reached the friendly Osages, with whom he passed the remainder of his life, and did much to reclaim them from savagery. The traditional story is that he was known to the Osages as "Whitebeard."

About ten years ago farmers living in the neighborhood of Malta Bend began hearing of strange relics that were being found occasionally

in a certain field. Capt. Clay, who traveled frequently through that part of the country, became interested in the stories, and, upon examining some of the relics was convinced that they had belonged to persons other than Indians. He was familiar with the story of the Spanish massacre, and soon came to the belief that the relics were of Spanish origin. Many relics were gathered by him, some from farmers and others by digging in the field. The objects were usually found in the rich, loamy soil at a depth of from three to six inches. A surprisingly large number of gun-barrels were unearthed. Many of them were twisted and bent as if the original weapons had been wantonly destroyed. Many of the gun-barrels were of quaint patterns. One now in Capt. Clay's possession is fully five feet long. Another, scarcely more than two feet long, was apparently of the bell-muzzle design, and had a caliber almost an inch in diameter. His collection of metal axes is particularly rich and interesting. Most of these axes were in fairly good condition. Blades of knives, honey-combed with rust, were dug up, together with long trigger-guards for guns, parts of iron kettles, battered sections of thin copper kettles and hand-forged bails of kettles. Stone mortars of different sizes and shapes were found, and are now in the possession of farmers living in the neighborhood. Considerable silver jewelry was uncovered.

It was suspected that possibly the gun-barrels had been left in the wreck of some battle fought on the spot during the Civil war. The writer, to determine this, wrote to men who had lived in the neighborhood before and after the war. They were unanimous in saying that no battle had ever been fought there. Occasionally bones have been found, but they were mere fragments, and so badly decayed that only an expert examination could show whether they were human bones.

Capt. Clay has spent much time in carefully examining this field, which he is positive was the camping ground of the Spaniards at the end of their long journey from New Mexico at the time of their massacre. He has set forth the topography of the camp in a map which he compiled on the spot, and upon this map he has based a conjectural story of the massacre. Two hundred yards north of the camp are high bluffs, forming the south shore of the Missouri river, which rolls its yellow waters turbulently below. Two hundred yards westward is a deep ravine that cleaves its way through the bluffs to the river. A zigzag line, about 300 yards long, running from southeast to northwest, because of its undulations is regarded by Capt. Clay as having been earthworks thrown hastily up as a protection against the sudden attack by the Missouris. It was near these slight undulations that most of the gun-barrels were found. In the ravine, and near the river, is a big spring that pours forth even now an exhaustless supply of pure water. Heavy timber along the ravine and an expansive meadow on the south afforded an abundance of fuel and forage for the horses and cattle. It was an ideal place for a winter camp, such as the Spaniards needed, but there was no suggestion of military strategy in its selection. There are traces of a large Indian camp several miles to the eastward.

Still further away are two peculiar rock formations known as The Pinnacles, because of their spire-like outlines. It is here that old Fort Orleans is supposed by many to have stood. Fort Orleans belonged to the French and was built in 1724 by M. Burgmont, who went from Mobile. It was destroyed and the entire garrison slain by unknown persons. The writer has a curiously patterned brass pistol, with a screw barrel, which was found on the spot.

Other persons besides Capt. Clay have interesting relics which were found on the site of the old camp. J. A. Tobin, of Malta Bend, has a silver bracelet and guns. The relics and the ground have never been examined by a person of scientific attainments in ethnology or archaeology. The results of such an investigation might overthrow the theories of Capt. Clay, but, at the same time, they would be of more than ordinary interest to persons who delight in solving the knotty historical problems of early days.—(Special correspondence of the *Globe-Democrat*.)

#### THE CAVE AT ROCHEPORT

From the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard*, October 22, 1926.

Rochepot, Mo., Oct. 22 (A. P.).—Rendezvous for student outings, and a subject of study for geological field trips from the University of Missouri, the Rochepot cave, near here once was the haven for escaping horse thieves.

The cavern, a deep recess in the rolling hills of central Missouri, is not far from the Missouri river which skirts Rochepot. The entrance about 50 feet high and half that wide is screened by heavy underbrush, that in summer almost completely conceals the opening.

In the crinoline days when Rochepot was one of the most important river points between St. Louis and Kansas City, folk lore records the operations of a band of river pirates who regularly stripped the wharves of barrels of sorghum, boxes of provisions and other commodities. The loot was stored in the cave. A fight between the river robbers and a posse of enraged boatmen at the mouth of the cave is said to have ended the career of that band, and the lives of several of its members.

Horse thieves in later years would hide in the cave when the vigilantes pressed them too closely. It has many chambers and winding tunnels.

#### THE BEST SHOTS

By Raymond S. Spears, in *Adventure Magazine*, June, 1925.

Of all rough-and-ready marksmen, I suggest that the Missouri Ozark mountaineers were the best in the United States. I speak especially of those in Taney, Christian and adjacent counties. Down to within twenty years, and probably to this day, the shooters there handled their revolvers better than any other district's gunmen that I ever heard of, individually and collectively.



From Missouri, probably, came the best marksmen of the West, from Kit Carson's boyhood onward. Kentuckians salted the Missouri wilderness with their own skill.

In that particular district, the one covered by the Bald Knobber clan, the shooting was with meticulous accuracy. Two men fought; one put his bullet through the other's head, and followed that bullet with two others so close together that a dollar covered them; this, while the victim was falling.

Courage was at the base of the accuracy. They never shot from ambush. No bushwhacker, acting the coward, could shoot as well as the brave man who faced his enemy in the open. When, at a church one night, two enemies met, one, who had the advantage of being in the shadow cast by the moon, sprang forth into the bright light before he drew his gun and thus, all fair and square and in the open, the two fought—and the man who would not shoot even from a shadow was killed.

The practice in that land was to ride past trees at top speed, and then shoot the trifling marks on the bark. Quantrill's riders, and the upshoot bands of James, Younger, and Cook—general terms, covering most Indian Territory desperadoes—and other bad men, had shooting characteristics of the Ozarks.

Sporadic marksmanship appeared elsewhere; a few good men gave a whole lot of mediocre shooters fame. Occasional good or lucky shots made the reputation of second-rate marksmen, but as a region, with revolvers and derringers, the Ozarks were as great as Kentucky riflemen at their best.

#### A TRIP UP THE MISSOURI

From the *Kansas City Times*, February 14, 1927.

(Editor's note: The following is an excerpt from an old French journal which was found in Paris by an American traveler.)

..... M. Girardin happened to be in St. Louis at the time the gold-rush to California began. One gathers that he must have been stranded in that city because of the variety of jobs he held within a short time. He clerked in a store, was a book agent and finally a mule teamster. He was on the verge of joining a caravan of fortune-hunters bound for California when a government geologist, hearing that De Girardin could draw, offered him the position of draftsman with an exploring party about to leave for the Bad Lands of "Nebraska" and the Upper Missouri. After a quick decision to accept, the Frenchman had just two hours to buy the clothes and arms he needed before their steamboat, the *Iowa*, parted from her dock.

"The steamboat *Iowa*," wrote De Girardin, "on which I embarked for the Black Hills country, carried about two hundred passengers, mostly poor adventurers engaged for a year by the American Fur Company to man its posts in the West. They bunked in the second class.

"Among my fellow travelers were all types of human beings from many different lands; bearded Parisians, some of whom are victims of political events; Danes, Germans, Spaniards, English, negroes, mulattoes, Indians and half-breeds. The most numerous contingent, however, consisted of Canadians, endowed with iron constitutions, accustomed to hardships and dangers; skilled hunters and tireless explorers.

"The American steamboats are nothing like the mean little vessels that chug up and down our streams. They are immense structures of three decks, surmounted by enormous smokestacks, true caravanseries, on which the traveler can enjoy all the comforts and luxuries of a first-class hotel. I heard a woman in St. Louis, who wanted to give her listeners an idea of the sumptuousness of a certain mansion exclaim: 'Why, it's almost as beautiful as a steamboat!'

"In the cabin section of our boat were three geologists, a botanist, two officers of the American army and a young German prince and his party. The Indian race was represented by the daughter of a Black Foot chief. She is the wife of an official of the fur company and is well known in the upper Missouri territory, where she wields a pacifying influence.

"A long journey of forty days is required to reach Ft. Union, situated at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, 675 leagues from St. Louis, and 1,100 from New Orleans. But since steamboats of large tonnage are able during the four or five months of yearly navigation to reach Ft. Benton in the Black Foot country and to within twenty-five miles of the great falls of the Missouri, one may say that the navigation of this great steam extends 1,216 leagues.

"Mounting painfully against a current of four or five kilometers an hour, we passed along the banks of the Gasconade, then reached Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, and finally Independence, where the Mormons established their New Zion, only to be driven onward again by the Missourians.

"Today the little village of Independence is thronged with emigrants headed for California. A steam ferryboat continually crosses the stream transporting from one bank to the other a multitude of covered wagons, also many herds of cattle and horses, as well as thousands of emigrants, men, women and children.

"A new gold fever is raging; farmers are selling their land for ridiculous prices; lawyers are abandoning their practices; merchants, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist preachers have donned woolen shirts, put pistols in their belts and muskets on their shoulders and started toward the New Eldorado in the long caravans.

"The wagons of the emigrants, of which so many are seen at Independence, are covered with canvas and inside are arranged with perfect order and tidiness. A covered wagon is a cottage on wheels which the owner must inhabit for six or seven weary months. Hence he makes it as comfortable as possible.

"Pistols and carbines are indispensable equipment for those headed west. They are hung up on the walls. In a corner is a castiron stove which is set up at each encampment to bake biscuits; there also are suspended cooking utensils and household goods. In almost all the rolling tents, one finds a few books on history or geography and invariably the Bible, the inseparable companion of the American emigrant.

"Leaving, not without regret, the emigrant camp, we rapidly passed by the mouth of the Kansas River, then Fort Leavenworth, an important military post on account of its position at the edge of the Indian stamping ground, and then St. Joseph, founded only yesterday but already a rich business center.

"Just beyond St. Joseph, all traces of civilization stopped. Up the river from this town, the banks are deserted; navigation becomes more difficult. We were forced to give up our night trips in order to keep from running on sand banks which dam the stream and which make it necessary to take continual sounding."

At Fort Pierre, the exploring party to which De Girardin belonged disembarked. Elaborate festivities in their honor were arranged by the post commander. Flowing whisky barrels played a not insignificant part in the celebration. And the Frenchman heard some scandal.

"Since the commander of the fort has lived for many years in Sioux territory," says De Girardin, "he has adopted certain Indian customs, among others, that of polygamy. But not, he assured us, from ignoble motives, but entirely for political ends and to help business. He has seven wives belonging to seven different tribes of the Dakota nation. Thus he gains for himself the loyalty and devotion of an army of brothers-in-law, uncles and cousins. These personal ties, he contended, give him a great influence and make his relations with the Indians much easier. I repeat his excuses for what they are worth."

It will not be possible to refer to all the things that De Girardin describes on his party's dangerous trip of investigation across the hills and plains of the Missouri watershed. But one culinary tip that he learned may be worth passing on to those who like good eating.

"The buds of the milkweed plant," he writes, "when cooked with buffalo meat, give it an excellent flavor."—E. J. B.

#### HOW MONITEAU COUNTY WAS NAMED

By L. F. Wood, in the *Tipton Times*, August 21, 1925.

(Moniteau County, being translated means—the "Country of the Great Spirit" or more literally translated "God's Country".)

In the organization of Cole county in 1820 the county court divided the county into two townships, named Moniteau and Moreau from its two principal streams, and as Moniteau county, upon its organization in 1845, took most of the territory of that township, it took also the name. It is much to be regretted that the court took the French spelling instead of

the Spanish or Indian. The pronunciation is about the same, but the name as now spelled has little significance, while the Spanish "Moro," and the Indian "Manito," are at once recognized as historic and significant names.

Manito, sometimes spelled Monito, was the Indian name for the Great Spirit, or Deity. Near the mouth of the Moniteau (Manito) river—between the bluffs and the Missouri river—the first settlers found on a column of rock at the bluffs of the Missouri, a sculpture and painting of a colossal figure. The Indians who occupied the country on the arrival of the first white men had no traditions of its origin. They had for it reverence and admiration, called it Manito, and worshipped at its base. There were no barbaric dances, such as distinguish the religious rites of the modern Indian, but rather a silent reverence. It was to them what Jehovah was to the Jews, but by whom made they had no knowledge. It was there when they came. It faced the rising sun, and we may infer from this position that its painter was a Sun Worshipper. Whether the work was done by the Mound Builders or by an intermediate race between the Mound Builders, or an earlier or later race, we may never know. Nor may we be certain what pigment was used that resisted the ravages of time and remained distinct and perfect for hundreds, and it may be for thousands of years. It was probably the most valuable relic of Missouri's ancient inhabitants. What the ravages of time failed to do the greed of man has accomplished.

In building the river road from Jefferson City to Boonville the railway company might have spared it, as it was not in the road-bed, but it was ruthless and unrelenting as the torch of Omar. The dynamite of the road-builder destroyed this valuable monument of antiquity, and its fragments now lie buried beneath the waters of the Missouri river, or are ballast for the railroad. The road-builders were asked to spare it, but they feared that it might sometime fall upon the track. When its base was revealed it was seen that the fear, whether real or pretended, was groundless.

#### SHOOTING MATCHES IN PIONEER MISSOURI

From the *Columbia Daily Tribune*, November 19, 1926.

The old Franklin *Intelligencer* well describes the sports of the day in the following article which appeared in the issue of September 2, 1925.

"Among sport which western freemen engage in during their hours of relaxation, the shooting match holds the first place. In a republic where regular soldiers are held in such indifferent estimation that they abandon the hope of uniform good treatment, it is important that every citizen prepare himself for the high destiny of self-defence. To establish the truth of this position we have only to refer to the fortunes of Generals Lafayette and Wilkinson—both officers of the Revolution—the former a foreigner, the latter a native citizen. Their services have been as nearly equal as it is possible to conceive. Each staked his all for our country. The former was an adventurer, the latter a patriot. The first comes to

our shores to receive our embrace and our bounty, and deservedly, too, while the last is doomed to exile—to seek an humble grave in a foreign land, after enjoying the stranger's donation for brief period. I will mention no more instances of neglect, although they occur to me by hundreds, less I am deemed ill-natured, but solace myself with the belief that there will never be found men enough in this republic to increase our army establishment, who will so far disgrace themselves as to become the mercenaries of a government that will look with indifference on them when age or infirmities shall have unfitted them for usefulness. It is with proud satisfaction, then, that we turn to the independent yeomen, whose pastime fits them to defend their native soil without hope of reward or fear of degradation. Though Missourians inhabit a remote section of the Union, they claim to hold those unerring rifles that will, when our country shall unhappily need them, be truly aimed in the front of the battle!

"Besides field sports in a new country where game is abundant, shooting matches on almost every Saturday evening tend to perfect our riflemen in the use of their hair-splitting weapons. Many of these guns are so unpromising in appearance that one of them might be mistaken for a crowbar tied to a hand-spike; but, when in the hands of a marksman, its value is ascertained.

"At our shooting match for beef a steer is divided into five parts and the hide and tallow is termed the fifth quarter. This last is the most valuable, and it is for the fifth quarter that the most skilled marksmen contend. The shots are generally so thickly planted about the center of the target as to require great scrutiny in determining the conquerors—the fifth quarter winner, second choice, etc. When this is known great exultation is not unusual but the winners sometimes betray a little vanity in bestowing eponyms on their rifles; and there are few who are not polite enough to attribute their success to the excellence of their arms.

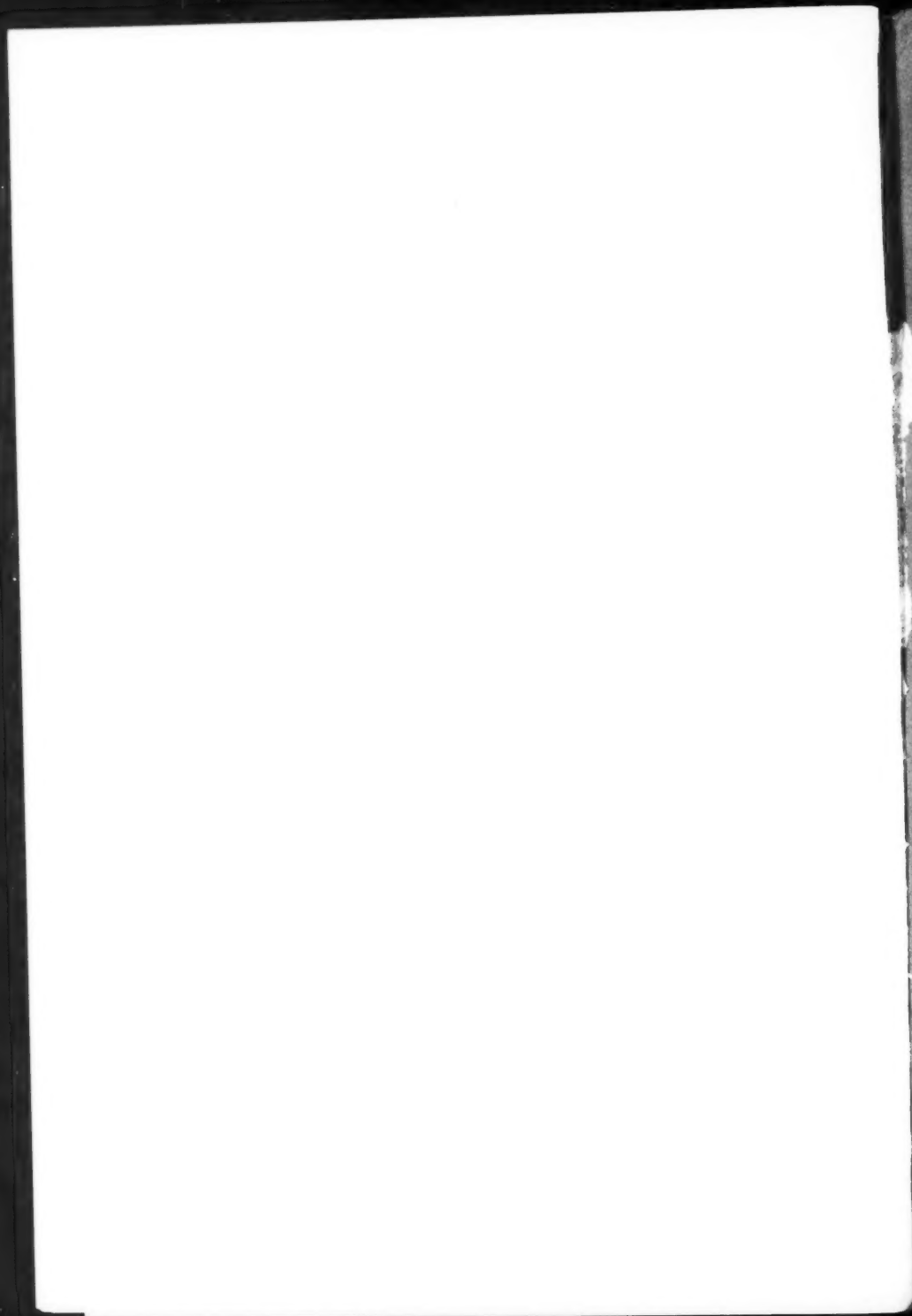
"If the gunsmith be present, he is not a little flattered by the acknowledgement of his skill. Many of the most distinguished guns acquire names of most fearful import by which they are known in sporting circles and small bets are sometimes made on 'Black Snake', 'Cross Bunter', 'Hair Splitter', 'Blood Letter', and 'Panther Cooler'. In short, there are very few of our rifles that would not put to shame the arrow that sent a messenger 'to Phillip's eye'. I am likewise disposed to believe that if 'Natty Bumpo' himself were to attend one of our shooting matches 'for beef' he might stake his ninepence to no purpose."

The sports of pioneer Missouri were ruder and less exciting and they provided no entertainment for the sturdy women of that early day, but primitive as they were they gestured to the youth of the great commonwealth that was to be. In the veins of those Herculean pioneers ran the blood of sportsmen. They painted Bruin with no chrome of yellow but in the more substantial pigment of his own red blood. They were sportsmen, game, true, and tried. Honorable in their sportsmanship they left the heritage of honesty to their sons and their grandsons.









## HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED BY THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

The constitution of the State Historical Society of Missouri provides that its object shall be the collection, preservation, exhibition and publication of materials for the study of history, especially the history of this State and of the middle west. In realizing this object, the Society desires in the first place to collect everything that can in any way shed light upon the history of Missouri from its earliest settlement to the present time. It is often the case that such material, which is of little or no importance to the individual who possesses it, becomes of great value when incorporated as a part of a library of reference on all historical matters, and it is certain that the safest depository for such material is in the new fireproof Library Building in Columbia which houses the collections of the Society. The State Historical Society publishes the following list of objects particularly desired by the Society:

1. Books and pamphlets relating to Missouri or to any of its subdivisions.
2. Books and pamphlets written by Missourians. The Society possesses the most extensive collection of books by Missouri authors in existence.
3. Manuscripts: Any original documents containing accounts of the early settlements of Missouri or the Louisiana Territory. Old letters, diaries and accounts written by pioneers are especially desired.
4. Official State Reports and Documents: Everything published by the State, whatever the subject may be. Duplicates in considerable numbers are wanted of any previous to 1895.
5. Reports and Documents of Counties, Cities, etc., Ordinances, Journals and Reports of City Councils; Reports of Mayor and other City Officials.
6. Reports and Documents of Educational Institutions: Catalogues, Schemes of Studies, Reports, Bulletins, etc.
7. Reports of Societies and Organizations: Annual and other reports of all kinds of social, religious, industrial and political organizations.
8. Files of Missouri Newspapers and Periodicals: The Society has 14,215 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and is now receiving and binding 488 periodicals representing every county in Missouri. Complete volumes of the issues of past years of all Missouri newspapers are especially desired.
9. Maps, Engravings, Paintings, Photographs, etc.
10. Historical Relics: Photographs and other portraits of pioneers and distinguished citizens. Autographs of the same.

The Society cordially invites all persons to assist in developing a great State historical library by contributing any of the above objects or anything that has any bearing upon the history of Missouri. The Society will defray all freight charges upon such donations and all contributions will be credited to the donors. The State Historical Society of Missouri is a State institution and holds all of its collections and property as a Trustee for the State.

All communications and donations should be addressed to the Secretary of the State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo.

